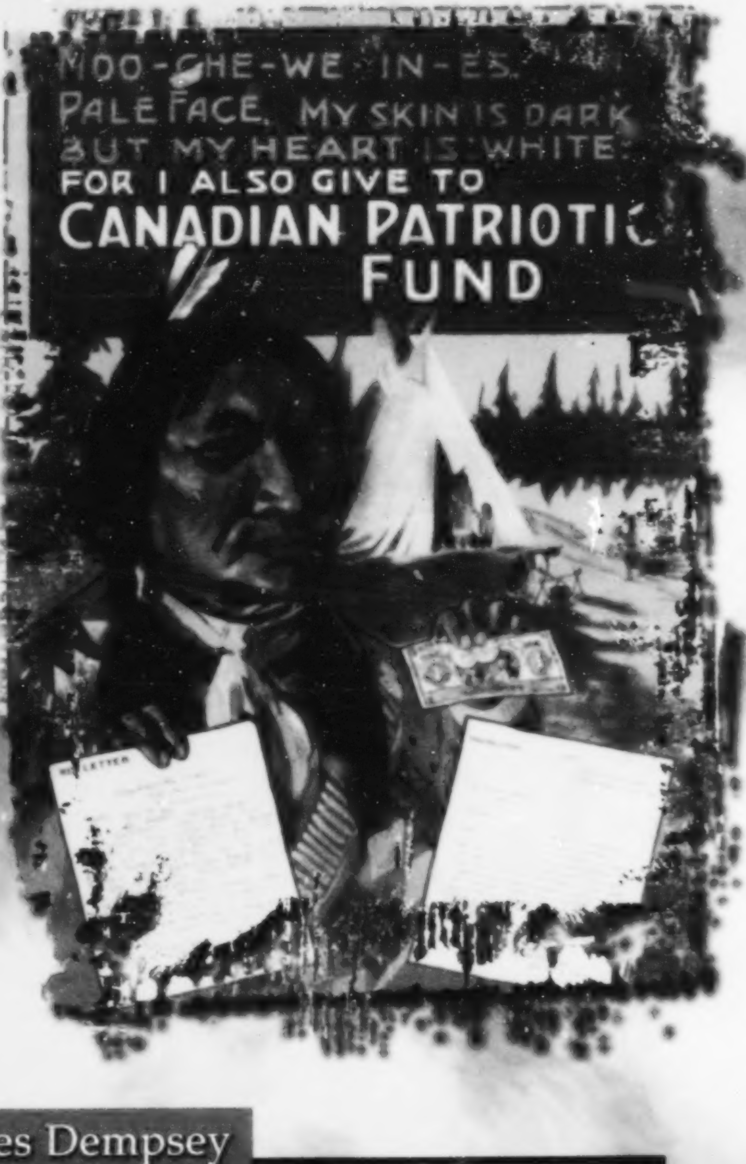
WARRIORS OF THE KING

PRAIRIE INDIANS IN WORLD WAR I


MOO-CHE-WE-IN-ES.
PALE FACE, MY SKIN IS DARK
BUT MY HEART IS WHITE
FOR I ALSO GIVE TO
CANADIAN PATRIOTIC
FUND

L. James Dempsey

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Warriors of the King

Warriors of the King:

Prairie Indians in World War I

L. James Dempsey

Canadian Plains Research Center
University of Regina
1999

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INTRODUCTION

While the history and culture of western Canadian Indians[1] in the nineteenth century has been well documented, little has been published concerning their experiences in the more recent period. To understand the Indians of today one must know more about their history in the twentieth century. A study of the participation of more than 400 western Canadian Indians in World War I offers a unique opportunity to view their society one generation after the signing of the treaties. They had been confined to reserves for thirty years, living in poverty under an oppressively paternalistic regime, yet they enlisted in numbers comparative to other Canadians, and acquitted themselves with honour. Surviving evidence indicates that the Indians of the prairie provinces enlisted for three principle reasons: the survival of a warrior's philosophy or ethic, the existence of a loyalty to the British Crown, and the opportunity to escape the stagnant life on the reserve.

The contribution of western Canadian Indians to the war effort from 1914 to 1918 has received only limited attention from military historians and ethnologists. Duncan Campbell Scott, the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, prepared an essay on the subject shortly after the war. It appeared in 1919 as a chapter in the book *Canada in the Great War*.[2] His article, which includes data on Indians from all across Canada, was compiled from Indian agents' reports, correspondence from military authorities, and newspaper articles, but contains little interpretation by Scott himself. Another source is *Forgotten Soldiers*, by Fred Gaffen,[3] which was published in 1985 and deals with Canadian Indians in both world wars. Focussing on their overseas exploits, the author makes extensive use of federal documents to provide a good overview of the subject from a government standpoint. A third source is a chapter in William M. Graham's book, *Treaty Days: Reflections of an Indian Commissioner*.[4]

The major sources for this book have been Department of Indian Affairs files and military service records held by the National Archives of Canada; documents in regional archives in western Canada, particularly the Blood and Battleford agency files at the Glenbow Museum; newspaper reports, books, and magazine articles from the World War I period; and interviews with veterans and their descendants.

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[1] While the term "First Nations" has gained considerable public acceptance in recent years, we have chosen to stay with the word "Indian" to describe Canada's aboriginal people. If the term "First Nations" was used throughout this book, it could not replace "Indian" in any direct quotes, nor in identifying the Indian Department. As a result, there would be considerable confusion for the reader. Therefore, the writer respectfully acknowledges changes in terminology as reflections of native self-awareness but adheres to the traditional usage for purposes of clarity.

[2] Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Canadian Indians and The Great World War," in *Canada In the Great War: Vol III - Guarding The Channel Ports* (Toronto: United Publishing of Canada Ltd., 1919), 285-328.

[3] Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd., 1985).

[4] William M. Graham, *Treaty Days: Reflections of an Indian Commissioner* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1991).

One problem experienced during research was the failure of the Indian Department to keep accurate records of Indian soldiers, particularly during the first year of the war. Although an estimated 3,500 to 4,000 Indians from Canada enlisted in the services, an exact count will never be known. In March 1915, for example, when the agent for the Peigans requested information concerning native participation in the war, he was informed that Ottawa "has not a record of the individual Indians who have enlisted in the different regiments."[5] Finally, in November 1915, Duncan Campbell Scott instructed his agents to send him information on all Indian soldiers from their agencies.[6] In February 1917, Scott provided agents with a departmental form, known as the "Return of Indian Enlistments Form," on which agents updated their original lists and sent in monthly returns of enlistments. In addition, agents were instructed to include any pertinent information concerning an Indian soldier's war record, decorations, and background.[7]

Despite this directive, the information provided by various agents from 1915 to 1918 is marred by errors, omissions, and inconsistencies. However, their reports have been supplemented by other available sources, such as military service records and contemporary newspaper articles. In addition, W.M. Graham, the Inspector of South Saskatchewan Indian Agencies, compiled valuable additional information on a number of Indians in western Canada who enlisted and went overseas.[8]

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[5] National Archives of Canada (NA), RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2;1, W. McD. Tait, Peigan Indian Agent, to Col. Merritt, Six Nations, March 1915; ibid., letter, D.C. Scott, to W. McD. Tait, March 1915.

[6] Glenbow Archives, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 16, file 122, circular, J.D. McLean, to agents, January 29, 1917.

[7] Ibid., M1788, box 16, file 121, circular, D.C. Scott, to agents, February 7, 1919.

[8] Ibid., M1788, box 14, file 120, telegram, W.M. Graham, to J.E. Ostrander, Blood Indian Agent.

ONE

Native Culture and Its Suppression

On the eve of the outbreak of World War I, western Canadian Indians still retained many of their old traditions, in spite of government efforts over nearly a half century to suppress them. The warrior ethic, for example, regardless of arrests by the North-West Mounted Police, exhortations by missionaries, and pressures from Indian agents, had managed to survive. To young men, the achievement of war honours became a desirable although almost unattainable goal. Though diminished in intensity after settling on reserves, this propensity for war had been redirected into religious ceremonies and lived on as an ideal within the warrior and age-grade societies. Old warriors recounted their exploits at religious gatherings and told their young men how war brought honour to their tribe. Among the Assiniboine, elders stated, "Don't die a woman's death in bed. Die the warrior's death at the end of the warpath trail, where a coup-feather awaits the brave."[1] Similarly, the Blackfoot had an age-old saying, "It is better for a man to be killed in battle than to die of old age or sickness."[2]

The Indians of the prairie provinces belong to two major cultural areas — the Plains and the Woodlands. Most prominent among the Plains groups are the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Sarcee, Plains Cree, Stoney (Assiniboine), Sioux, and Plains Ojibwa (Saulteaux or Chippewa). Among the Woodland tribes are the Woodland and Swampy Cree, Ojibwa, Woodland Stoney, Beaver, Slavey, and Chipewyan.[3] In the mid-nineteenth century the warrior ethic existed in both cultural areas, but was most evident on the plains.

Warfare had occurred among western tribes long before the arrival of Europeans, although perhaps not to the extent it was practiced during the horse era. As evidence, there are the remains of a pre-European fortified Indian village site at Blackfoot Crossing[4] and a number of similar fortified sites in the Missouri River valley.[5] Native mythology tells of a heroic battle between a Shoshoni chief and a young Blackfoot which set off a full-scale war in the 1690s.[6] Fur trader David Thompson recorded tales of warfare which took place in the 1720s.[7] And in 1750, Cree and Assiniboines were at war with the Gros Ventres.[8]

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[1] Dan Kennedy, *Recollections of an Assiniboine Chief* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1972), 98.

[2] John C. Ewers, "Primitive American Commandos," *The Masterkey Bi-Monthly* 17, no. 4 (July 1943): 118.

[3] Within the past decade, a number of tribes and bands have begun using native names for themselves, and to adopt such terms as "Nations" and "First Nations" when referring to their reserves. For example, the Blackfoot are the Siksika Nation; the Blood, Kainaiwa Nation; the Peigan, Pikuni Nation; the Sarcee, Tsuu T'ina Nation; Stoney, Nakoda Nation, and so on. However, because much of this book is based upon quotations and terms of an earlier period, the old tribal and band names are used.

[4] Mary Fitz-Gibbon (transcriber), *The Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris, Western Journeys 1907-1910* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1985), 156, 159; Richard G. Forbis, *Cluny: An Ancient Fortified Village in Alberta* (Calgary: University of Calgary, Department of Archaeology, 1977).

The Plains Indians' acquisition of the horse in the early eighteenth century quickly raised the level of conflict. People needed swift horses to hunt buffalo and hardy animals to transport their baggage. This led to a new practice on the plains: the capturing of horses from enemy camps. War thus became a means of gaining personal wealth, protecting tribal hunting grounds from incursions of enemies, and obtaining status within the tribe. Many warriors were teenagers, making their first forays at the ages of thirteen or fourteen. Soon, war and its associated ritualism became essential cultural facets of western Canadian Indians and acted as a powerful unifying force within their tribes.[9] The arrival of the gun through European traders made warfare all the more deadly.

The Plains Indians in the nineteenth century had an aggressive warrior personality. Among the Blackfoot, for example, grandparents often raised their grandchildren, which strengthened their emotional bonds to the tribe's military traditions.[10] Children were brought up to view war as an opportunity for a person to acquire fame and riches. Many of their games were warlike in nature and storytelling sessions often featured the exploits of great warriors. Edward Ahenakew, when referring to the Plains Cree, summarized the personality of the Plains Indian warrior:

> It was the prairie Indian who exulted in dangers. He was a free and driving man, continually in contact with danger on the open prairie. There was never safety from the attack of an enemy who might be concealed in ambush anywhere. This tended to make the Plains Cree contemptuous of danger, for it was everywhere around him. Possession of the horse had made it possible to live on the prairie; it was the horse that helped develop the reckless and often wild character of the prairie Indian.[11]

Plains warfare was not aimed at exterminating their enemies or taking possession of their hunting grounds. Most war parties consisted of loosely organized groups of volunteers who banded together to capture horses from enemy tribes.[12]

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[5] John C. Ewers, "Indian Views of the White Man Prior to 1850: An Interpretation," in Daniel Tyler (ed.), *Red Men and Hat-Wearers, Viewpoints in Indian History* (Colorado: n.p., 1974), 8.

[6] C.C. Uhlenbeck, *A New Series of Blackfoot Texts* (Amsterdam: Johannes Muller, 1912), 83.

[7] Frank Raymond Secoy, "Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains, 17th Century Through Early 19th Century," in *Monographs of the American Ethnological Society* (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1953), 34; Richard Glover (ed.), *David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962), 252-72.

[8] John S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790 to 1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988), 9.

[9] Colin Taylor, *The Warriors of the Plains* (London: Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., 1975), 34; Secoy, "Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains," 34-63; Bernard Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Indians* (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1940), 58-63.

[10] Taylor, *Warriors of the Plains*, 21.

[11] Edward Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 86. These personality traits were noted by W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, who noted that, "The Blood is a dignified Indian. This self-pride is in many ways a detriment to his progress, giving him a tendency to scorn innovations… He will work, but not in a persevering manner…" *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1914), 71.

[12] Secoy, "Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains," 63; John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*,

These small raiding parties quickly formed and disbanded just as rapidly after the men returned home. The same group might never go to war again. In their list of war honours, the killing of enemy tribesmen and the taking of scalps ranked very low in their value system. Rather, honours were based on personal bravery, the highest being that of counting a coup (touching an enemy and escaping without harm).[13] The Plains Indians resembled gladiators more than soldiers. They engaged in war for personal honour and spoils, and to them warfare became an integral part of the economy and ethos of their culture.[14] As an Assiniboine chief stated, "After the return of a victorious war party, we invariably staged great celebrations to honour our war heroes. At these celebrations the women took the leading role. They displayed the enemy scalps and other trophies dangling from the coup-sticks as they danced their way across the arena of the camp circle to the accompaniment of martial songs and the throbbing of the tom-toms."[15]

The important events in the life of a warrior centred on ceremony and religion. Indeed, religious doctrine permeated every aspect of their lives, and even the warrior societies seldom lacked some supernatural association.[16] The Plains Indians, the Blackfoot specifically, viewed the earth as a flat expanse of land dominated by natural features, including the Rocky Mountains which they called the "backbone of the world."[17] They believed the earth to be an island which ended somewhere beyond the horizon. The sky was conceived of as similar to the earth, although a person could see only its underside. Star worship among the Plains Indians was prevalent and travel between the earth and the sky was believed to be possible. From this belief the annual Sun Dance evolved to become the main ceremony for honouring these spirits. To the Plains Indian, spiritual forces caused the workings of nature such as the sun to rise and set, the grass to grow, water to flow, and storms to gather in the sky.[18] Warriors believed that these forces could be a source of power to protect them from their enemies.

The Plains Indians recognized the existence of a supreme being who occupied a high realm in the sky. He was known variously as *Gitchi-manitou* by the Crees, *Natos* by the Blackfoot, and *Wakan-tanka* by the Sioux. Between him and the earth dwelt the eagles, thunder, lightning, and above them the sun, moon, and stars.[19] The warriors prayed to the spirits of this middle realm, as they regarded the supreme deity as too remote and powerful to concern himself with such trivial matters. These lesser spirits possessed powers to turn aside storms, to provide

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Raiders on the Northwestern Plains (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 40; George Bird Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1892), 251-55; Regina Flannery, *The Gros Ventres of Montana*, vol. 1 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1958), 88. The highly individualistic nature of the warrior ethic helps to explain the Indians' suitability for snipers' roles in World War I.

[13] Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 126; Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare Among The Plains Indians*, 1-2; Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 245; Ewers, "Primitive American Commandos," 119; John Maclean, *Canadian Savage Folk* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), 60.

[14] Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 140; James H. Howard, *The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi* (Lincoln: J.& L. Reprint Co., 1977), 103.

[15] Kennedy, *Recollections of an Assiniboine Chief*, 98.

[16] Clark Wissler, *Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1913), 425-26; Taylor, *Warriors of the Plains*, 36, 46.

[17] James Willard Schultz, *Signposts of Adventure* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926), 20.

[18] Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 259-60; Maclean, *Canadian Savage Folk*, 439.

[19] Maclean, *Canadian Savage Folk*, 439.

protection in battle, or to entice a herd of buffalo into an impoundment.[20] Many warriors believed they were protected by such guardian spirits with whom they could communicate.[21]

Dreams and visions played an important role in the Plains Indians' lives.[22] Among the Assiniboines, for example, a man to whom a certain creature appeared in a dream would not kill or eat the flesh of that animal. Teenaged Assiniboines dreamed of spirits who would instruct them over a period of several years.[23] Among the Blackfoot Indians, a young man on a vision quest might retire to a secluded place in order to pray and fast to make contact with a spirit which would become his personal protector. Frequently a trance or dream occurred and became the means by which the guardian spirit revealed itself. This spirit might give the young man a song or indicate that he should wear a certain object which symbolized his protective powers.[24]

Nearly every Indian carried an amulet or dream object which was a replica of an article that had been shown to him in his vision. This dream object might be anything from a stone to the head of an owl. In itself it possessed no power but it symbolized the spirit protector and could fortify the warrior's courage in times of danger and distress. The recipient might represent his vision in some way on his clothing, either painted on the leather or depicted in beadwork. A man might also purchase an amulet from a successful warrior or holy man whose own success had proved the object's potency by bringing him safely through many dangerous adventures.[25] Elaborate songs revealed in the vision accompanied the transfer.

The experienced Plains Indian warrior was a brave, intelligent and resourceful fighting man, one who attributed his success in war to the power of his spiritual protector. Before a battle a man would use his holy objects in conjunction with prayers and songs with the intention of assuring his guardian's protection.[26] The amulet and prayers shielded him from harm and ensured his success in his hazardous adventure.

A complex hierarchy of age-grade warrior societies existed among such tribes as the Peigan, Blackfoot, and Gros Ventre. Young men progressively purchased new memberships in these fraternities as they grew older. Each society had its specific regalia, songs and dances, and assumed responsibilities for keeping order in the camp.[27] The Assiniboine and Sioux had similar men's societies, although not based upon age, while the Cree had a single warrior society to which "worthy" young men were invited.[28] In all instances, proficiency as a warrior was an expected attribute of members.

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[20] Ibid; Robert H. Lowie, *Indians of the Plains* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), 155.

[21] Fine Day, *My Cree People* (Invermere, BC: Good Medicine Books, 1973), 20-24; Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 476.

[22] Lowie, *Indians of the Plains*, 157-60; Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 400-401; Mike Mountain Horse, *My People the Bloods* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1978), 27.

[23] Robert H. Lowie, "Religion in Human Life," in William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (eds.), *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 137.

[24] Clark Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians*, vol. 7 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1912), 2, 71-90; Taylor, *Warriors of the Plains*, 36.

[25] Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 127; Flannery, *The Gros Ventres of Montana*, vol. 1, 92-98.

[26] Diamond Jenness, *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935), 53; Taylor, *Warriors of the Plains*, 38.

[27] Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 61; Wissler, *Societies and Dance Associations*, 365-429.

Also as part of the warrior tradition, young boys chose partners, or comrades, with whom they would go to war. They were expected to travel together, and to protect each other in times of danger.[29] This practice continued long after the reservation period, with boys selecting comrades while in boarding schools to be their partners in games and other activities.

Although the Woodlands Indians practiced warfare and shared with the Plains people the wish that their male children be excellent hunters and warriors, the Woodland tribes in the nineteenth century were less concerned with organized warfare. An interdependent economic system had developed between them and the British fur traders which discouraged war practices. Indians exchanged furs and often food for European manufactured goods on which they became so reliant that they had little time for war.[30] Also, due to the seasonal way of life of these native trappers, they had fewer opportunities to organize war parties. Occasionally, however, skirmishes occurred, such as a battle between the Woodland Cree and Beaver Indians which was settled by a treaty, resulting in the naming of Peace River.[31] Also, once the fur-bearing areas of present-day northern Manitoba had become depleted, the Woodland Cree expanded into present-day northern Saskatchewan and Alberta, sometimes coming into conflict with resident tribes.[32]

Both the Plains and the Woodlands Indians encountered three waves of Europeans: first, the fur traders; then, the missionaries; and finally, Canadian government officials. Unlike fur traders, the missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century came to erase the Indians' entire way of life, including the warrior ethic. Although they attempted to convert the Indians to Christianity, initially they encountered great resistance because the Indians already believed in an existing spiritual world which was all around them.[33] They had no concept of original sin, or of the existence of a heaven and a hell, or of a Son of the Great Spirit. As a result, in the initial contact stage, the missionaries had little impact on altering the Plains Indians' warrior ethic. Yet, inroads began to be made in the 1870s with the decline of the buffalo.

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[28] Lowie, *Indians of the Plains*, 101-2.

[29] Esther S. Goldfrank, *Changing Configurations in the Social Organization of a Blackfoot Tribe during the Reserve Period* (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1945), 40.

[30] Patricia A. McCormack, "Becoming Trappers: The Transformation to a Fur Trade Mode of Production at Fort Chipewyan," in Thomas C. Buckley (ed.), *Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981* (St. Paul, MN: North American Fur Trade Conference, 1984), 155.

[31] Merrily K. Aubrey, *Place Names of Alberta*, vol. 4 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1996), 163-64.

[32] McCormack, "Becoming Trappers," 155, 161; Secoy, "Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains," 39, 47, 49; Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 13; David G. Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1979), 40; Arthur J. Ray, "Fur Trade History as an Aspect of Native History," in Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith (eds.), *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), 15; Daniel Williams Harmon, *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country* (1820; Toronto: Macmillan, 1957), 200; Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Laurence Through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the Years 1789 and 1793* (Philadelphia: John Morgan, 1802), lxvi-lxvii, cxviii; Glyndwr Williams (ed.), *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1767-91* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), 191-92.

[33] John Maclean, *The Indians of Canada: Their Manners and Customs* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892), 271-74.

After the sale of Rupert's Land to Canada in 1869, a third group joined the traders and the missionaries: Canadian government officials, who brought west the British government's Indian policy in the old province of the Canadas (present-day Ontario and Quebec). Originally, the British government in Upper and Lower Canada had considered the Indians to be military allies, but by 1830 the need for warriors had so diminished that the policy became meaningless. The government's Indian policy then shifted from accepting Indians as allies and equals to that of being candidates for "civilization." To accomplish this, the government initiated a policy of wardship to transform Indian warriors into Christian farmers, and to prepare them for assimilation into the larger society.[34]

In 1868, a year after Confederation, the new Dominion Parliament passed "An Act providing for the organisation of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of Indian and Ordnance Lands" which gave the minister, as Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, control over management of Indian lands, property, and Indian funds.[35] Most clauses in the Act were based on a mistaken belief that Indians could easily be integrated into the majority community.[36] This goal of assimilation determined the direction of Indian Department administration for the next century.[37] In 1876, an Indian Act consolidated all existing Indian legislation. Its intent was confirmed by Deputy Superintendent-General Lawrence Vankoughnet who, in a memorandum on August 22, 1876, stated that "the legal status of the Indians of Canada is that of minors, with the Government as their guardians."[38] A separate Indian Department was established in 1880 and, with the help of missionaries, the government pursued its goals of Christianization and the introduction of agriculture. Warrior beliefs and practices had no place in this agenda.

The cornerstone of Canada's Indian policy was the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which had recognized native title to the land.[39] Before settlement could proceed, the majority of the respective groups of Indians had to agree to surrender their lands to the Crown, which alone could purchase them. This policy evolved into a system of treaties, known in western Canada as the "Numbered Treaties," with nine of them (Treaties 1 to 8, and 10) being signed in the present-day prairie provinces between 1871 and 1908. The government's policy was threefold: conclude treaties, settle the Indians on reserves, and prepare for their eventual absorption into Canadian society by eliminating their existing culture.

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[34] S.D. Grant, "Indian Affairs Under Duncan Campbell Scott: The Plains Cree of Saskatchewan, 1913-1931," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 18, no. 3 (Fall 1983): 21-22; John L. Taylor, "Canada's Northwest Indian Policy in the 1870s: Traditional Premises and Necessary Innovation," in Richard Price (ed.), *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties* (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980), 13.

[35] Canada, *Statutes of Canada* (31 Vic, chap. 42), May 22, 1868, pp. 91-100.

[36] The declared purpose of the government's policy was "to lead the Indian people by degrees to mingle with the white race in the ordinary avocations of life." Canada, *Sessional Papers*, no. 23, "Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, 1871," p. 4.

[37] John Leslie and Ron Maguire, *The Historical Development of the Indian Act* (Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1978), 55. Although the government department responsible for the administration of Indian affairs changed over the years, we refer to it in this book simply as the Indian Department.

[38] Ibid., 60.

[39] F.L. Barron, "A Summary of Federal Indian Policy in the Canadian West, 1867-1984," *Native Studies Review* 1, no.1 (1984): 28.

The Canadian government dealt first with the tribes in Manitoba. An agreement emerged from the negotiations for Treaties 1 and 2 in 1871 at Lower Fort Garry which provided reserves and a small annual cash annuity. Later, schools, farm animals, implements, and supplies were added. These additions appear to have been proposed by the Indians, since the commissioners had no instructions to offer them.[40] The terms of the Northwest Angle Treaty (Treaty 3) of October 10, 1873, were more generous than those of the preceding two treaties. The three great Plains Indian treaties were Treaty 4 (covering present-day southern Saskatchewan), Treaty 6 (present-day central Alberta and Saskatchewan), and Treaty 7 (present-day southern Alberta).[41]

The signing of the numbered treaties ultimately affected the Indians during World War I in two ways. First, there was a promise in the Treaty 3 negotiations that Indians would be exempted from fighting in the Queen's wars. And second, the treaties created in the minds of Indians a strong tie with the Queen and her heirs. Since it was in her name that the treaties were signed, and since the commissioners were considered Royal representatives, the Indians saw the treaties as pacts with Queen Victoria rather than with the government of Canada. The influence of the Queen is shown by the statement of Sweetgrass, a leading Cree chief, who told the commissioners that he would sign Treaty 6 and "I also thank the Queen for sending you to act for our good."[42] Similarly, Crowfoot, a chief of the Blackfoot, saw the treaty as a pact of faith between the Blackfoot and the Crown.[43]

Queen Victoria was a very important person to the Indians, even though no one from the tribes had ever met her. She was known to the Blackfoot as *Ninaki* or Chief Woman,[44] and to the Crees as *Kitchi-okimaskwew*, or Great Woman Chief,[45] while the common expression for her was Great Mother.[46] They believed that she herself had sent the police to make the treaties. The symbol of the Queen remained as a positive source of strength throughout the succeeding years, and when her land — England — was threatened by war, many Indians wanted to help.

Although fur traders, missionaries, policemen, and Indian agents all had a negative impact on Plains Indian society, white man's greed caused the greatest disaster of all. By the late 1870s, the trade in buffalo robes, coupled with the expansion of settlement in the United States, spelled the end of the great herds.

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[40] John L. Taylor, "Two Views on the Meaning of Treaties Six and Seven," in Price (ed.), *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*, 5-6.

[41] Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 59.

[42] Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories* (Toronto: Willing and Williamson, 1880), 236.

[43] Ibid., 272; Hugh A. Dempsey, *Crowfoot, Chief of the Blackfeet* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 103.

[44] Information and translation from Mrs. Pauline Dempsey, Calgary, May 16, 1985.

[45] Albert Lacombe, *Dictionnaire et Grammaire de la Langue des Cris* (Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin & Valois, 1874), 239.

[46] Morris, *The Treaties of Canada*, 268, 280-81, 295-97.

The invention of the repeating rifle resulted in the uncontrolled slaughter of tens of thousands of buffalo and within five years, from 1875 to 1879, the massive herds that had roamed the Canadian plains were virtually exterminated.[47] The destruction occurred much more quickly than the government had anticipated, for at Treaty 7 in 1877 Commissioner David Laird had predicted they would be plentiful for another decade.[48] So when the buffalo disappeared, the Indians lost their source of food, shelter, and clothing. Instead of being an independent, proud, and formidable military force on the plains, they became a collection of indigent bands roaming the land on the verge of starvation. Almost immediately, the Plains Indians were obliged to settle on their reserves and become dependent on the government. The years 1879 to 1885 were marked by starvation and privation, resulting from scanty rations and limited agricultural aid.[49] At the root of these hardships lay Canada's economic depression and the federal government's drastic cost-cutting in the Indian Department.[50] Broken treaty promises and economic conditions led two Cree bands to become involved with the Metis in the Riel Rebellion of 1885. After its suppression, the government asserted even tighter control on the more dissident reserves through increased staff and more strict regulations.[51]

Restrictions, rewards and encouragement towards self-sufficiency characterized the Indian Department's treatment of prairie Indians during the years following the Rebellion. Bands that had been involved in the uprising were moved or, in the case of Big Bear's band, dispersed entirely, while tribes such as the Blackfoot, who had remained loyal, were rewarded with cattle.[52] But even the so-called "loyal" tribes suffered under the yoke of government control. Anyone who wished to leave a reserve for hunting or other reasons had to get permission from the Indian agent. In addition, Commissioner Hayter Reed in 1889 advocated strict application of the Vagrant Act to discourage Indians from loitering in nearby towns.[53] Government interference in the proceedings of band councils also increased. When some bands wanted the power to regulate council proceedings and introduce certain bylaws, the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian

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[47] Frank Gilbert Roe, *The North American Buffalo* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), 378.

[48] Morris, *The Treaties of Canada*, 369.

[49] George F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (1936; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 270-72, 280.

[50] Grant, "Indian Affairs Under Duncan Campbell Scott," 23; Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 73.

[51] Grant, "Indian Affairs Under Duncan Campbell Scott," 27.

[52] Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 88. In the diaries of Edmund Morris, the Blackfoot farm instructor, D.L. Brereton, told Morris that "the Blackfoot at the time of the rebellion of 1885 were not loyal but they knew the whites were all powerful (both Doucet and Cluny MacDonell confirmed this)." He continued, "they had crossed the border and had got ammunition and arms from Joe Kipp or Dupines Crull. They had cached this in the ground and were armed to the teeth and had got extra cases for the ammunition. In July they held a great sun dance. The southern Blackfoot and Piegans were present and the Chief of the Gros Ventres. They had a plan cut and dry. Had the last battle of the Crees been successful they intended to take the beef herd, then slaughter the whites as far as the mountains. After that go to the assistance of the Crees. They had runners out and the news of the defeat of the Crees was brought to them sooner than by wire. The sun dance at once broke up and they returned to their different homes." See Fitz-Gibbon, *Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris*, 102.

[53] Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 90.

Affairs dismissed their recommendations because he said that Indian agents already possessed these powers. He contended that "mischievous results" might accompany such an amendment.[54] Such measures further limited the freedom of Indians and were part of the government's increasing control of their lives.[55] Men who once had been independent warriors now were restricted in both food gathering and travelling.

The Indian agents, police, and missionaries also carried out the government's civilization policy. The agents, far from being simple advisors to the bands, controlled all aspects of reserve life. And the role of the police changed from one of being equals in the mid-1870s, to becoming the Indians' superiors. The duties of the police were no longer simply to maintain the Queen's law, but to convince the Indians of the superiority of British justice and way of life. The police suppressed such warrior activities as horse stealing, even though this had once been an honourable profession.[56] They also cracked down on the ceremonies of warrior societies and even acted as truant officers to prevent young boys from remaining with their families. This attitude destroyed many warrior-related activities, or at least caused them to go underground. At the same time, the missionaries had complete control over the boarding schools. Their first priority was to convert the young Indian children to Christianity and to a European value system.

From 1891 to 1896, bureaucratic controls over the Indians increased. The Indian Department followed a policy of close supervision, reduced rations, and the encouragement of self-sufficiency among the Indians in the West. New amendments to the Indian Act imposed strict controls on Indian conduct, such as banning religious festivals, giving the police the ability to make arrests without warrants, and making school attendance mandatory.[57]

When the Liberals came to power in 1896, Clifford Sifton, the new minister of the Interior, tightened the regulations even more, as he felt that the assimilation process had to be speeded up.[58] He viewed Indian education as the means to encourage progressive Indians to become more self-sustaining through knowledge of practical agriculture or industrial training. The native lifestyle, emphasizing community sharing and support, had to be eliminated. Canadian society, based on individualism and competition, was a goal which needed to be adopted by all Indian people.

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[54] Barron, "A Summary of Federal Indian Policy," 30; National Archives of Canada (NA), MG 26A, vol. 152, pt. 2, pp. 62344-69, letter, Lawrence Vankoughnet, to John A. Macdonald, March 28, 1887.

[55] Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 89.

[56] Hugh A. Dempsey, *Charcoal's World* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), 25.

[57] Barron, "A Summary of Federal Indian Policy," 31; Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 96-98. However, petitions to Ottawa by various Indian groups during the first decade of the twentieth century resulted with some relaxation of the ban. E. Brian Titley, "William Morris Graham: Indian Agent Extraordinaire," *Prairie Forum* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 27-29. Still, agents such as W.J. Dilworth from the Blood Reserve believed the Sun Dance "to be productive of much harm amongst the Indians." Glenbow Archives (GA), Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 13, file 98, letter, W.J. Dilworth, to J.D. McLean, March 23, 1914. The Department supported their belief and restricted Indian movements by requiring them to obtain permission and a permit in order to attend off-reserve dances. See ibid., letter, J.D. McLean, to W.J. Dilworth, January 17, 1915. However, later during 1915 a Saskatchewan Indian was convicted of attending a Sun Dance on a reserve other than his own. See *Saskatchewan Herald*, July 1, 1915.

[58] Barron, "A Summary of Federal Indian Policy," 33; Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 89. Sifton moved the Indian policy away from Sir John A. Macdonald's civilization program, and replaced it with an "assimilation by integration" policy.

For these reasons, it is not surprising that many young men grasped at any chance for adventure, both before and during World War I. The male's position had been steadily eroded since hunting had been replaced by rations, and warfare officially abolished. The dependency on the government for food, combined with the restrictive lifestyle of the reserve, had resulted in a feeling of inadequacy among many of the males. Toiling in the ground, which farming required, was sometimes viewed as women's work and therefore was attempted with reluctance. The situation was in stark contrast to the pre-reservation period, as noted by anthropologist David Mandelbaum:

> Men who had not participated in warfare were derided and ridiculed. Their names might be given feminine endings and young warriors might summarily tell them to join "their fellow-women." Thus, a war party usually had a full quota of boys anxious to establish themselves as real men via the proving ground of battle.[59]

The agents interpreted the men's indifference to farming as a natural laziness on their part,[60] missing entirely the warriors' cultural barrier to undertaking such work. In fact, a gulf of monumental proportions still existed between the Indians' attitude and that of European settlers on the eve of World War I. Even with the government's policy of regulation and integration, the old lifestyle of the warrior continued to be extolled as an ideal through the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth century. In February 1887, for example, several young men on the Blood Reserve waited for the snow to melt to permit them to raid the Gros Ventres in Montana.[61] A year later, a Cree named Charles Whitford stole horses near Edmonton, then escaped across the line into Montana.[62] In the same year, another Cree, Kiskawasis, returned to Canada after fleeing from a horse-stealing incident several years earlier. When the police attempted to arrest him, he opened fire on them.[63] In 1889, some Bloods raided the Crows in Montana and killed and scalped one of their enemies.[64] In 1904, a Blackfoot named Dog Child was arrested for stealing horses near the Montana border, and in 1905 seven Bloods were caught taking horses from the Mormons and selling them to a rancher in British Columbia.[65] These men generally were treated as heroes by their own people. Among the Bloods, for example, one of the raiders later became head chief of the tribe while another became a member of the tribal council.

After horse raiding and warfare were virtually abolished, religion became the main avenue for males to retain their dignity and to find relief from the dull and oppressive reserve life.[66] In the case of the Blackfoot, many religious ceremonies continued to be performed on the reserve in spite of government restrictions. Some of these rituals were originally used as a means of arousing "courage and enthusiasm for war" among young men.[67] A male could always gain influence, both with the spirit world and with those in his tribe, by joining in the secret ceremonial life on the reserve.[68]

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[59] Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree*, 241.

[60] *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1914), 42.

[61] Dempsey, *Crowfoot*, 207.

[62] *Report of the North-West Mounted Police Force, 1888* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1888), 193.

[63] Ibid., 110.

[64] Dempsey, *Charcoal's World*, 23.

[65] L.V. Kelly, *The Range Men* (1913; Toronto: Coles Publishing Co. Ltd., 1980), 369.

[66] Dempsey, *Charcoal's World*, 13.

The strength of native values was still present in 1896, as noted in the case of Charcoal, a Blood who killed a fellow Indian. In his mind he had been following the old ways by killing a man caught having sexual relations with his wife. Charcoal believed a Bear Knife had given him the spiritual strength to kill his enemy, just as it had always helped warriors in battle. The Blood warrior then chose to "throw his life away,"[69] which was following an ancient tradition of his tribe of allowing himself to be killed in war, rather than dying peacefully at home. Traditionally, if a man knew he was going to die of some illness or infirmity, he would ride into a battle or hostile camp with the intention of killing as many of the enemy as possible. The slain enemy would enter the land of the dead ahead of him, thus acting as his messenger. Charcoal tried to follow this practice when he realized he had broken the white man's law.[70] Similar incidents occurred when the Cree Almighty Voice killed a policeman in Saskatchewan in 1895; Scraping Hide murdered the farm instructor on the Blackfoot Reserve in 1896; and Tail Feathers killed his wife and the head chief on the Blood Reserve in 1907.[71] All were done, apparently, to send spirit messengers ahead of them.

The pre-reserve culture manifested itself in other ways. Almost all Indians spoke their native tongue, either solely or as their first language. They gave their children personal names, in addition to those which appeared on the books in the agency office. These were bestowed in the traditional way by an elder and often were warlike in nature, such as the Cree names Killed First, Man Who Shoots, and Gives a Gun.[72] Old warriors recounted their exploits during the Sun Dance, and a myriad of activities, such as ceremonial dances, tea dances, pipe transfers, and story-telling sessions, helped to keep alive the old culture and the glory of war.

Alternately, on the eve of World War I a system of church-run residential and industrial schools had been in existence in western Canada for over thirty years. The missionaries did not waver from their goals of destroying the culture and introducing Christianity and British values.[73] For example, in 1892 the Reverend John Maclean wrote, "Missionaries toiling for the welfare of the Indian race are confronted with customs different from their own, and these must be studied, so that wise measures may be adopted for the silent overthrow of all those that are injurious to the advancement of the red man."[74] To do so the educators separated the Indian children from their parents at the age of six and kept them away from their homes until they turned sixteen.[75]

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[67] Taylor, *Warriors of the Plains*, 45.

[68] Dempsey, *Charcoal's World*, 29.

[69] Ibid., 28.

[70] Ibid., 18.

[71] Ibid., 161-62; Al Cooper, "The Brave They Fought With Cannons," *Maclean's Magazine* (July 1, 1951): 15-16, 34-36; "Indians in Paint, Excitement on the Blackfoot Reserve," *Weekly Globe* (Toronto, July 10, 1895); also in Martin Robin's *The Bad and the Lonely: Seven Stories of the Best — and Worst — Canadian Outlaws* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1976), there is a chapter on Almighty Voice (pages 67-94).

[72] Indian Department paysheets for 1879, various reserves.

[73] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 187-88; J.R. Miller, "Indian-White Relations in Canada: The Case of Residential Schooling," unpublished paper (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1986), 5-6; J.F. Woodsworth, "Problems of Indian Education in Canada," in C.T. Loram and T.F. McIlwraith (eds.), *The North American Indian Today* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1943), 268.

Some families voluntarily allowed their children to be taken away for their education. This was most evident in some parts of Manitoba where, by 1914, the education program was generally considered to be the most successful. The Indian agent at the Birtle agency commented:

> Education now occupies a prominent place in their minds and it is now the desire of the band that their children shall receive an education not inferior to the average education of the white child.[76]

However, the natives' lifestyle still posed a problem for the government's civilization program. For example, at the Clandeboye and Fisher River agencies in Manitoba, irregular attendance in the day schools was caused by the nomadic habits of the parents.[77] Poor attendance was also encouraged by parents who were opposed to the schools' use of physical punishment. Indians were accustomed to educating and controlling their children through fear of shame and ridicule.[78]

Many elders resented the residential schools being used as centres of conversion to Christianity and for purposes of assimilation. A good example occurred on the Star Blanket Reserve in Saskatchewan. Chief Star Blanket, who in 1886 had been rewarded with an eastern trip in recognition of his loyalty during the Rebellion, was deposed as chief for resisting attempts to have his children placed in school. In 1912, however, the Indian Department reinstated him on the condition that he allow his children and grandchildren to be sent away. Worn down by age and poverty, the old man agreed,[79] but as a last gesture to have his children returned, Star Blanket sent a petition to the Governor General of Canada which stated:

> In the treaty we made then, the government promised to make a school for every band of Indians on their own reserve, but instead, little children are torn from their mothers' arms or homes by the police or government agents, and taken sometimes hundreds of miles away to large schools, perhaps to take sick and die when their family cannot see them. The little ants which live in the earth love their young ones, and wish to have them in their homes. Surely us red men are not smaller than those ants.[80]

Although some former Indian students found school to be a pleasant experience, such as Blood Indians Mike Mountain Horse[81] and James Gladstone,[82] the recollections of other Indian students mention homesickness and resentment against Christian indoctrination. For example, Maggie Black Kettle recalled:

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[74] Maclean, *The Indians of Canada*, 272.

[75] Woodsworth, "Problems of Indian Education in Canada," 268; T.B.R. Westgate, "The History, Policy and Problems of Protestant Missions to the Indian in Canada," in Loram and McIlwraith, *The North American Indian Today*, 121; Barron, "A Summary of Federal Indian Policy," 31; Miller, "Indian-White Relations in Canada," 7; Norma Sluman and Jean Goodwill, *John Tootoosis, A Biography of a Cree Leader* (Ottawa: Golden Dog Press, 1982), 101.

[76] *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1914), 48.

[77] Ibid., 146, 148, 206, 208.

[78] Woodsworth, "Problems of Indian Education in Canada," 268; Miller, "Indian-White Relations in Canada," 17-18.

[79] Sluman and Goodwill, *John Tootoosis*, 101.

[80] Ibid., 102.

[81] Mountain Horse, *My People the Bloods*, 15-18.

[82] James Gladstone, "Indian School Days," *Alberta Historical Review* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1967): 18-24.

> I was very lonely in school. I didn't speak any English. Little did I know the teachers would get angry at me for speaking Blackfoot. The girls told me don't speak Indian, the nuns will hit you if you do. Then I'd really cry. The only time my mother would come was Saturdays or Sundays. I'd see her just for two hours then I'd be sent back to the playroom. Two died from loneliness at Crowfoot School. One of them — I can't remember her name — would cry and cry and got sick and died from loneliness.[83]

A Sioux who attended the Lebret Residential School near Fort Qu'Appelle recalled that "they would not allow us out even for Christmas, although home was only about ten miles away."[84] Barney Lacendre, an Alberta Cree, recalled his school: "I hated that place. I would sit down sometimes and try and think of a way to get out of there. Finally I decided that the best way to do it would be to burn the place down."[85]

Upon the graduation of their children and grandchildren, the elders discovered that the years of relentless conversion had, in part, accomplished its purpose. Many sixteen- to eighteen-year-olds who came home had become alienated from their own heritage. Yet, the old values often persisted in spite of the influence of the residential schools and frustrated the missionaries and agents who were working so hard to eliminate them. Upon a young man's return, his elders often sought to revive his interest and involvement in Indian culture by encouraging him to join secret societies and to participate in religious dances.[86] This was known derisively as "going back to the blanket." In non-Christian homes the native culture, as agents and missionaries feared, returned the most rapidly.[87]

A problem more dangerous than the weakening of their culture for many students was that of survival. The change from a nomadic life to a sedentary one in the 1880s led to the rise of tuberculosis. In 1909 it was believed that about 70 percent of natives had the disease in some form or another.[88] Poor housing and close confinement in residential schools were the major causes for the rapid spread of the disease.[89] As Edward Ahenakew noted:

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[83] Interview with Maggie Black Kettle, in Blackfoot and English, March 4, 1993, by Pauline Dempsey.

[84] Sluman and Goodwill, *John Tootoosis*, 101.

[85] Barney Lacendre (edited by Owen Salway), *The Bushman and the Spirits* (Beaverlodge, AB: Horizon House Publishers, 1979), 60. This response seems to have been resorted to quite often, as noted by Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 368-69, and Miller, "Indian-White Relations in Canada," 23. "The frequency with which residential school buildings burned was suspiciously great, and repeated investigations yielded enough evidence of student arson to validate the notion that incendiarism was for many students simply the ultimate avoidance technique."

[86] Woodsworth, "Problems of Indian Education in Canada," 268; Barron, "A Summary of Federal Indian Policy," 32; Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 358-59; Miller, "Indian-White Relations in Canada," 12, 22; Jane Willis, *Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood* (Don Mills: New Press, 1973), 62-63.

[87] Sluman and Goodwill, *John Tootoosis*, 108. The agents noted the influences of the parents and grandparents, indicating that the native culture still survived among the younger generation. "It is found that the graduates who return to pagan homes, sometimes return to the ways of their fathers." See *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1914), 207. "When educated they are bright people, but are inclined to adopt the easy habits of the Indian…" See ibid., 58. Other references can be found on pages 67, 153, 165, 167.

[88] Fitz-Gibbon, *Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris*, 119; *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913), 295, 300-301. Even as late as 1943 it was believed Indians were thirteen times more susceptible to tuberculous than Europeans. E.L. Stone, "A Specific Problem of Health Among the Indians Of Canada," in Loram and McIlwraith, *The North American Indian Today*, 240.

> In boarding schools, the chances of infection are high, the life of strict barracks discipline, the thwarting of the most natural habits of the Indian child, the close confinement, the different food, the lack of outdoor life to which he has been accustomed — all these serve to lower his vitality and make him still more susceptible, certainly to tuberculosis. Again and again I have seen children come home from boarding schools only to die, having lost during their time at school all the natural joys of association with their own families, victims of an educational policy, well-meant but not over-wise.[90]

By 1914, the effects of the white man's diseases had left an impact. The populations of the tribes had been shrinking year after year as disease took its toll.[91] Indian agents' reports claim that health conditions were improving immediately before the war but the mortality rate remained high. In Manitoba, health standards were better due to the care taken with sanitation and by the Indians keeping their houses and surroundings clean and burning off refuse. In Saskatchewan, tuberculosis, measles, whooping cough, and smallpox were still prevalent, but at least the officials had begun vaccinating pupils at the boarding schools against measles, whooping cough, and smallpox. In Alberta, bouts of tuberculosis, measles, smallpox, typhoid, whooping cough and pneumonia affected the Stoney, Edmonton, Saddle Lake, and Hobbema agencies. The Blood Indians had few infectious or contagious diseases, nevertheless, there was a heavy mortality among infants and young children due to bronchial and intestinal troubles, occasioned largely through the sole use of beef and bannock as a food diet. Alcohol use throughout western Canada, although limited, remained a health problem and efforts were being made to stop its availability to the Indians by making frequent arrests and having the North-West Mounted Police harass known bootleggers.[92]

Besides the tragedies of disease and alcohol, western Canadian Indians continued to suffer from the oppressive role of the Indian agent on the reserve. The popular belief in Social Darwinism at the turn of the century resulted in a lack of sensitivity and understanding by some agents, many of whom viewed the older natives' lifestyles and values as being backward and outdated. In turn, older Indians frequently resented the efforts of the "white chiefs," as they called them, to implement government assimilationist policies.[93]

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[89] Ibid., 301. P.H. Bryce stated, "our task is, how to make it [housing] habitable and health-giving. No single step in this direction is possible until the present log hut is enlarged or replaced… To allow the old shacks now existing on so many reserves to remain longer is simply to put a premium on the general increase of tuberculosis…" See P.H. Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime* (Ottawa: James Hope & Sons, 1922), n.p.

[90] Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree*, 132. Also a reference to native health is made in Joe Dion's book, *My Tribe The Crees* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1979), 131: "The welfare of the Indian, especially his health, was sadly neglected by the great white chief at Ottawa, who shared the general belief that we were a poverty stricken, dying race, and that it was only a question of time when the Indian would be no more."

[91] Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime*, 9. In the *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1914), xvii, it was noted that for the year 1913 the overall Canadian Indian population declined by 2,716 while in Manitoba, for example, there was a decrease of 532 persons.

[92] A number of cases are reported in prairie newspapers, for example, *Macleod Spectator*, January 7, August 5, 1915; *Saskatchewan Herald*, July 27, 1915; and *Gleichen Call*, November 9, 1916.

[93] Grant, "Indian Affairs Under Duncan Campbell Scott," 23.

After the turn of the century, when government domination had reached its peak and resistance was at a low ebb, the Indian Department exerted pressure on the Indians to sell portions of their reserves. The arrival of a million immigrants to the prairies between 1896 and 1914 put pressure on the federal government to open up Indian reserves for white settlement. Clifford Sifton encouraged the surrender and sale of those lands. This marked the beginning of a roughly twenty-year period when some bands were persuaded to sell large portions of their reserves.[94]

Yet there were positive reactions to the new way of life. Prior to World War I, a number of Indian farmers worked at virtually the same level as white farmers in an age before mechanization. Most southern reserves had been supplied with the same kind of farming implements that were available to white farmers and native farmers used them quite efficiently.[95] The inspector for southern Saskatchewan summed up the changes that had occurred in his area:

> I notice a marked difference in the style of farming that is being done from year to year, and we now have a great many Indians in this inspectorate who can be classed as well-to-do farmers and who depend entirely on themselves for everything. It is not uncommon to see Indians producing from 6,000 to 8,000 bushels of grain individually... A great many of our Indian farmers of to-day are graduates of schools. Some of these young men go right to work when they leave schools and are successful...[96]

The situation was similar on other Canadian reserves on the southern prairies. On the Blood Reserve, nearly half its members were involved with farming and the other half with ranching, with the result that a number of Indians were entirely self-supporting.[97] Esther Goldfrank later noted that in the immediate pre-World War I period, "For the first time in the history of the Bloods, a money economy, entirely divorced from the traditional horse economy, flourished exuberantly and with success in this competitive society."[98]

Still, an enormous gap in incomes existed between natives and whites. In comparison to non-Indian farmers, prairie Indians only earned about a tenth as much per year. For example, the 1911 census lists non-Indian farmers, holding 160 acres of land or more, as having an average income of $880 per farm, while Indian Department reports show the annual incomes of Indian farmers as $94.25 for Saskatchewan, $89.52 for Manitoba, and $56.53 for Alberta.[99]

By 1914, despite the efforts of Indian agents and missionaries, the native culture, and in particular the warrior ethic, still survived. When enthusiasm for war was openly demonstrated during World War I, it was not a new phenomenum but simply the old warrior spirit emerging from its hiding place. Although almost fifty years had passed since these Indians had been involved in any forms of fighting, the strong traditional values had remained.[100] Ironically Duncan Campbell Scott, the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, would now count on this persistence of a warrior identity to provide Canada with badly needed soldiers during the war.

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[94] Barron, "A Summary of Federal Indian Policy," 33. Other examples can be found in the *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1914), 78.

[95] Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal/ Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 241.

[96] *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1914), 67.

[97] Ibid., 70.

[98] Goldfrank, *Changing Configurations*, 33.

[99] *Fifth Census of Canada*, vol. 4, *1911* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1914); and *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1914), xxi.

Scott ultimately was to have a significant impact on both native attitudes and their involvement in the European conflict. He was the son of a Methodist minister and a former missionary to the Indians in Ontario. After a career of thirty years in the Indian Department, he had been appointed Deputy Superintendent-General in 1913. He was a person who had always believed that assimilation was the only acceptable future for Indians,[101] but this objective had been clouded by his oppressive paternalism based upon a belief in the white man's natural superiority, a racial philosophy that grew out of Social Darwinism. Scott's view of Indians was not as noble savages, but as barbaric primitive men out of place in the twentieth century who needed to be pushed along the progressive evolutionary road toward a better life. Scott believed that native people had contributed nothing significant to the establishment and development of the country. Using his gift for language (he wrote prose and poetry in his spare hours), he regularly used emotionally charged adjectives to describe native people: savage, wild, desperate, cunning, treacherous, superstitious and brutal.[102] For Scott, intermarriage with Caucasians provided the Indians with their best chance for progress.[103] As he later wrote:

> The government will in time reach the end of its responsibility as the Indians progress into civilization and finally disappear as a separate and distinct people, not by race extinction, but by gradual assimilation with their fellow citizens.[104]

The centralized structure of the Indian Department, with its authority being placed in the office of the Deputy Superintendent-General, allowed these attitudes and biases of one man to influence major decisions on the character of Canada's Indian policy. Understandably then, Scott's character and views dominated Indian policy during the war years. Ironically this same man who had tried to exorcise what he called the savage, wild nature of the Canadian Indian, would come to extol it during World War I.

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[100] In the *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1914), 59, it was noted by agents in Saskatchewan that, "the elders encouraged the younger generation to lead a free and easy life." See also page 67: "Owing to tribal customs, the progress in this agency is slow"; page 58: "The old people have not accepted progressive ideas and old pagan ways are followed"; and page 62: "There are too many of the older and what one might call the stagnationist element in this band for them to make rapid progress."

[101] Grant, "Indian Affairs Under Duncan Campbell Scott," 24.

[102] E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 30-33; E. Brian Titley, "Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs," in Colin Nicholson and Peter Easingwood (eds.), *Canadian Story and History, 1885-1985: Papers Presented at the Tenth Annual Conference of the British Association for Canadian Studies* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1985), 49.

[103] Ibid., 51.

[104] Ibid.

TWO

The Search for Indian Recruits

During World War I more than 3,500 Indians enlisted for active service with the Canadian Expeditionary Force. This number represents approximately one-third of the Indian male population of military age resident in Canada. As Duncan Campbell Scott proudly wrote after the war, the percentage of Indian enlistments was fully equal to that among the white communities and in a number of particular instances it was far higher than the average.[1]

To secure these numbers, the Canadian government and Deputy Superintendent-General Scott drastically altered the Indian Department's policy during the war years in regards to native enlistment. Initially, in 1914 the Department had reluctantly allowed Indians to enlist; in 1915 it sanctioned individual efforts to try and recruit them; by 1917 it had become directly involved in promoting their recruitment. If before the war it worked to eradicate the warrior ethic of western Canadian Indians, it now tried in the second, third and fourth years of the "Great War" to promote it.

In the decade prior to the war, western Canadian Indians rarely came to the public's attention, other than at fairs and in parades. Little thought was given to their military potential. Aside from federal Indian agents, farm instructors, and missionaries, the only people to have any regular contact with them were those who lived adjacent to reserves. This usually involved casual labour, shopping trips at treaty time, or infractions of the law.[2]

In the larger society at the turn of the century, Indians were perceived by romanticists as "noble savages" with virtues worth preserving. The majority population, however, accepted the doctrine of Social Darwinism and believed in the superiority of their own "civilized" society. To them, the Indians' declining population confirmed that they were an inferior people who could not survive in contact with a "higher civilization." As Elizabeth Walmsley, a western Canadian journalist, commented in 1910:

> The "brave" no longer lives in a wigwam or "tepee" as his forefathers did, more or less exposed to the inclemencies of all weathers and consequently hardened to them, but in a "shack" much like an immigrant settler's. But

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[1] Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," in *Canada in the Great War: Vol III. Guarding the Channel Ports* (Toronto: United Publishing of Canada Ltd., 1919), 288-89. It is also known that there were additional numbers of native enlistees for which the Department of Indian Affairs was unable to obtain any record.

[2] See, for example, Keith Regular, "On Public Display," *Alberta History* 34, no. 1 (Winter 1986): 1-10; "Yellow Horse, Blackfoot Chief and Wife, Double Cutting Woman, will Meet His Royal Highness," *Calgary Herald*, September 5, 1912; "Devil Worship Among the Crees," *Calgary Weekly Herald*, August 29, 1907.

> he cannot accustom himself to the white man's mode of life... For the nature of the Indian is still Indian, and until he can be taught how to adapt himself to the higher standards of comfort which contact with civilization has brought him, the result must inevitably be extinction...[3]

Cy Warman, a contemporary journalist, summed up the conquest of the West and the role the Indians played in it. "The red man," he said, "the hereditary lord of the land, stood up and demanded recognition. We smashed him and moved on."[4]

The Indian who had not been destroyed by disease was thought to have "long since lost most of the virtues which he possessed before contact with European civilization."[5] Even professionals, such as J.F. Woodsworth, a missionary educator, viewed Indian culture as outmoded. "We cannot ignore the fact that in the Indian of today," he wrote as late as 1943, "we are dealing with a race only recently emerged from a most primitive stage in human development — for the most part, little beyond the stone age."[6] Some officials, such as Comptroller Fred White of the RNWMP, were very blunt with their assessment: "I believe the Indian question will solve itself. They are gradually dying out but I would like to see them intermarry with the white race."[7] Over all, the non-Indian population had little esteem for the western Canadian Indians. If the need for them to serve ever arose, what use would be these weakened, broken people? When war was declared in 1914 no one believed it necessary to encourage Indians to enlist.

In the summer of 1914, at the outbreak of hostilities, Canada itself had virtually no military tradition or experience. The profession of soldiering had little appeal and the Canadian Militia was at a low ebb. "Certainly Canada was ill-prepared, for the most part unprepared for war," state historians Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook.[8] Cadet training at Canadian schools was the only real contact that much of the public had with the military. This involved little more than marching in dusty school grounds, polishing brass buttons, and learning how to roll puttees for the annual inspection.[9]

Similarly, western Canadian Indians received little military instruction, with cadet training being carried out at only a few Indian residential schools. These students had the best opportunity to recapture some of the warrior personality demonstrated by their forefathers, a lifestyle officially suppressed since they had settled on their reserves. On the Blood Reserve, cadet training continued into the war years under the direction of the Reverend Samuel H. Middleton, who had some thirty boys in his company at St. Paul's Residential School. It was reported that the Blood cadet camp was "under strict military regime, but the boys are very enthusiastic about it, and many of them, if old enough, would be willing to join the army."[10]

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[3] Elizabeth Walmsley, "The Canadian Indian Today," *Calgary Daily Herald*, September 2, 1910.

[4] Keith W. Regular, "'Red Backs and White Burdens': A Study of White Attitudes Towards Indians in Southern Alberta, 1896-1911" (MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1985), 133.

[5] William B. Newell, "Indian Contributions to Modern Civilization," in *36th Annual Archaeological Report, 1928, Being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario* (Toronto: King's Printer, 1928), 18.

[6] J.F. Woodsworth, "Problems of Indian Education in Canada," in C.T. Loram and T.F. McIlwraith (eds.), *The North American Indian Today* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1943), 266.

[7] Mary Fitz-Gibbon (transcriber), *The Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris, Western Journeys 1907-1910* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1985), 26.

[8] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 213.

[9] Don Wetherell, "Strathcona High School: The First Ten Years" (research paper, Alberta Historic Sites, Edmonton, May 17, 1985), 21-23.

Cadet training became a first step into the military for students anxious to gain traditional war honours. Two examples can be cited from the Blood Reserve alone. Albert Mountain Horse, a St. Paul's graduate, said to be "one of the brightest and most enlightened boys on the reserve," had served as a cadet at the Indian boarding school.[11] His interest in army life began at boyhood and when he was old enough he was sent to military classes where he passed his examination entitling him to hold a commission of lieutenant. When the war broke out, Mountain Horse belonged to a militia unit, the 23rd Alberta Rangers, and was taking a course in musketry in Calgary. From there he enlisted in the Army Service Corps in Calgary and went overseas.[12] Another Blood Indian, Laurie Plume, was a sergeant in the same corps and later enlisted with a number of friends.[13]

Immediately after war was declared, a number of Indians across Canada actively pledged their support. For example, T.A. Cox, an Indian agent in British Columbia, stated "that the leading men of a number of west coast tribes, have expressed their desire to be allowed to serve the empire at this crisis, and offer to send numbers of their younger men if called upon."[14] In a letter written in 1914, Chief F.M. Jacobs of Sarnia, Ontario, suggested the extent of native sympathies. He emphasized a willingness to provide "help towards the Mother Country in its present struggle in Europe. The Indian Race as a rule are loyal to England; this loyalty was created by the noblest Queen that ever lived, Queen Victoria."[15]

The Indians of western Canada endorsed these sentiments, for they remembered their long association with the Crown, first through the North-West Mounted Police (whom they saw as representatives of the Queen sent to protect them), and secondly, through their treaties with Queen Victoria. The Blackfoot presented a donation to the government in September 1914, stating that the "money was to be used by them in whatever way may be deemed most advantageous to assist in bringing this war to a successful conclusion for our Country and her Allies."[16] Similarly, the Sarcees made a presentation a month later of $500 to the Canadian Patriotic Fund.[17] The agent for the Peigans reported that the young men of the tribe wished it to be known that if they were needed they were willing to fight for the Great White Father.[18] The Bloods confirmed their backing in a declaration they sent to Ottawa, which was undoubtedly embellished by the Indian agent but reflects their support for the war effort. It stated:

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[10] *Macleod Spectator*, June 29, 1916.

[11] Ibid., November 25, 1915.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Interview with Laurie Plume at his daughter's home on the Blood Reserve, June 20, 1985.

[14] *Calgary News-Telegram*, August 19, 1914.

[15] National Archives of Canada (NA), RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, I, letter, Chief F.M. Jacobs, Sarnia, Ontario, to D.C. Scott, August 1914.

[16] Ibid., file 452-2, 2, band letter from Blackfoot Indians to Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, September 1914.

[17] *Calgary News-Telegram*, October 3, 1914; NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 2, form letter, Sarcee Band Council to Department of Indian Affairs, September 1914. Many of the other western tribes also contributed early in the war, ie. Peigans - $1,600, NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 2, form letter, Peigan Indians to Department of Indian Affairs, October 1914; Samson's Reserve - $1,000, NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 2, letter, Hobbema Indian agent to J.D. McLean, January 1915; Carlton Agency - $50, NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 2, letter, Carlton Indian agent to J.D. McLean, February 1915.

> we of the Blood Indian tribe are thankful for the kindly, just, and honourable treatment always given us by the King's Government... that it is our desire that he make use of $1000 of our moneys funded with his Majesty's Government in Canada.[19]

In a letter sent in August 1914 to J.D. McLean, the Assistant Deputy and Secretary of Indian Affairs, the Blood agent added that

> daily our Indians, both young and old, schooled and unschooled, eagerly inquire for war news and any news told them of the success of the allied army... I am proud of our Indians, proud of the fact that they of their own free will and accord spontaneously suggested the calling of the Council [to donate money to the Patriotic Fund].[20]

However, the outbreak of the war did cause considerable confusion on the reserves. A generation earlier, western Canadian Indians had been instructed at the signing of treaties to throw away their guns, that henceforth the Great White Mother would protect them from all enemies. Now, one of their own, Albert Mountain Horse, had enlisted, in part due to the Reverend Middleton's encouragement. To some, the missionary was seen as having broken the treaty and having committed the unpardonable sin of sending a Blood to fight in a foreign country. Middleton was warned and even threatened that if anything happened to Albert, he would be held responsible.[21]

Further anxiety arose when a proposal was made by the Reverend John McDougall, one of the first Methodist missionaries to work among the Alberta Indians, to the effect that a regiment of Indians be raised to fight for the empire. McDougall thought it would be an excellent plan, believing that

> all these Indians at one time fought in battles amongst themselves, and some of them are the best scouts in the world. If I was suggesting sending a contingent of Indians to fight, I would suggest the taking of a certain number from each tribe and from each reserve, and making up a regiment of about 500. They have all fought at one time, and now are united in loyalty in the empire.[22]

At the outset of the war, however, neither the federal government nor the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs sought the assistance or involvement of Indians as soldiers. They were not felt to be needed in what Canadians believed would be a short war. In any event, the Indians were wards of the government and not Canadian citizens, hence they were not obligated to defend the British Empire.[23]

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[18] Ibid.

[19] NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 1, letter, Blood Band to Department of Indian Affairs, August 1914.

[20] Ibid., band letter, Blood Council to Department of Indian Affairs, August 1914; ibid., file 452-2, 2, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, August 8, 1914, and also found in Glenbow Archives (GA), Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 13, file 98; *Macleod Spectator*, August 13 and November 12, 1914; *Calgary News-Telegram*, May 18, 1915; *Gleichen Call*, June 24, 1915.

[21] Roberta J. Forsberg, *Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton* (Whittier, CA: n.p., 1964), 37.

[22] *Calgary News-Telegram*, August 14, 1914.

[23] Also, at Treaty 3 negotiations, the commissioner promised Indians they did not need to fight

During the first few months of the war, Scott and the Indian Department opposed the outright recruiting of Indians for the army and stated that "no unit composed solely of Indians will go to the front with the Canadian contingent."[24] At this time, native enlistments went relatively unnoticed by the Canadian military, who did not take racial origins into consideration, and by the Indian Department, which did not attempt to keep records of the Indians who enlisted. These men simply became part of the Canadian contingent.

It was soon apparent that the warrior ethic was still very much alive, with the result that a relatively large number of Indians wanted to enlist at the very beginning of the war. Accordingly, various Indian agents requested Ottawa to inform them of the proper procedure to follow. In response, the Indian Department sent a memorandum to the agents in December 1914, stating: "If the young men of the Indian band in their particular district desire to enlist for active service during the present war... take them to the local recruiting office and offer their services."[25] In other words, agents were not to become directly involved in recruiting. In January 1915, the military authorities themselves wanted the regulations clarified since they did not believe they had official authority to raise a company of natives for the Canadian Expeditionary Force. The District Officer Commanding was asked for a definite ruling[26] but it would not be until the end of the year before a final decision would be made.

Several military authorities initially opposed recruiting Indians for overseas service, and advised that any decision on all-Indian companies be delayed. Some feared that if captured, their savage background would lead the enemy to treat them harshly. This argument was put forth in October 1915 by Eugene Fiset, the Surgeon-General of the Department of Militia and Defence, with the apparent endorsement of his Minister, Sam Hughes. He stated:

> I would point out that it has been decided that while British Troops would be proud to be associated with their Indian fellow subjects, the Germans might refuse to extend to them the privileges of civilized warfare. It is therefore advised by the Honourable Minister to have them remain in Canada to share in the protection of the Dominion instead of enlisting them for Overseas.[27]

As the casualties mounted at the Western Front, however, and the war entered its second autumn, the military shifted its stand, encouraging active enlistment of the greatest possible number of young men. This situation arose after the battles at Ypres, Festubert, and Givenchy had drained much of the First Canadian Division. At the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915, for instance, the Canadian Army lost 6,037 men in just four days.[28] On account of these losses, the reluctance

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in foreign wars. See Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba, the North-West Territories, and Kee-wa-tin* (Toronto: Willing and Williamson, 1880), 69.

[24] GA, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 13, file 98, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to Josephine Y. Cochrane, August 12, 1914; *Calgary News-Telegram*, August 19, 1914.

[25] NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 2, letter, J.D. McLean to Charlie Tucker, Bella Coola Indian agent, December 1914; *Calgary News-Telegram*, August 19, 1914.

[26] NA, RG 24, vol.1221, file HQ593-1-7, letter, Lt. A.P. Dinoch, to the DADG, January 1, 1915.

[27] NA, RG 24, vol.1221, file HQ593-1-7, letter, Eugene Fiset, Surgeon General and Deputy Minister, Department of Militia and Defence, to D.C. Scott, Deputy Minister, Department of Indian Affairs, October 25, 1915.

[28] Roger Graham, "Through the First War," in J.M.S. Careless and R.C. Brown (eds.), *The Canadians* (Toronto: Macmillian, 1967), 179-80.

to recruit Indians vanished, and on December 9, 1915, the military reversed its former position against overseas duty for natives. Confirmation to allow Indian recruiting came from the District Officer Commanding, and subsequently from Duncan Campbell Scott and the Indian Department. Instructions were sent to all officers commanding military divisions and districts to accept natives if they were up to the standard of the Enlistment Regulations.[29] The 114th Overseas Battalion, based in Ontario, became the first unit officially to accept the enlistment of Indians, who formed two companies staffed by a number of native officers.[30]

With the Indian Department's active support, the army soon developed a number of standard procedures to obtain the now eagerly sought Indian recruits. They sometimes sent, for example, an officer and a civilian recruiting agent to attend Indian dances. On Saskatchewan's Red Pheasant Reserve, one recruitment visit consisted of offering a magic lantern lecture on the English countryside around Stratford-on-Avon, followed by a display of war slides. The Reverend H. Sherstone, the lecturer, then explained the war situation to the audience.[31] News of the progress of the war usually brought out good crowds, particularly if any Indians from that reserve had already enlisted.

During the winter of 1915-16, some senior officers questioned how the military might best use native enlistees. Major General W.G. Watkin stated:

> If 500,000 men are to be raised, we must take all we can get; but it is useless to enlist Indians, and train them, unless we intend to employ them at the front... If they are employed as a battalion, or by companies, we must come to some understanding with the War Office; and the best plan would be, I think, after consultation with the War Office, to earmark one or more companies as Indian companies, and keep them up to strength by drafts specially prepared. How Indians would stand trench warfare I do not know; nor do I know whether, coming from different tribes, they would fight among themselves.[32]

Yet general support grew throughout the second year of the war to recruit Indians. A private citizen, Stuart Henderson from Ashcroft, British Columbia, wrote to Sam Hughes outlining the advantages to be gained by using natives in the army. Ironically, he considered the natives' most desirable attributes those which the agents had been trying for years to extinguish:

> They are excellent shots, scouts and fine travellers, live in the open air with or without tents. They have scrapped with nature all their lives and are surely fitted for the greatest scrap of all times, and have not had the training, education and civilizing influences to neutralize their natural aptitude for struggle of a physical nature.[33]

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[29] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, letter, Eugene Fiset, Surgeon-General Deputy Minister Department of Militia and Defence, to J.D. McLean, December 9, 1915; ibid., letter, Brigadier-General W.E. Hodgins, Acting Adjutant-General, to the O.C.'s Divisions and Districts, and the Inspector General of Western Canada, December 10, 1915.

[30] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 298-99; Marius Barbeau, "Charles A. Cooke, Mohawk Scholar," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96, no. 4 (August 1952).

[31] *Battleford Press*, February 11, 1915.

[32] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, letter, Major General W.G. Watkin to Adjutant General, January 6, 1916.

[33] Ibid., letter, Stuart Henderson to Sir Samuel Hughes, March 18, 1916. See also Hana Samek, "Great Father and Great Mother: U.S. and Canadian Indian Policy and the Blackfeet Confederation, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1985), 370.

Moreover, their enlistment would release an equal number of other men to work in factories.[34]

A number of military men, civilians, and former Indian Department officials in eastern Canada prepared to organize native units late in 1915. In the following year battalions such as the 135th Middlesex (with Ojibwa, Oneida and Muncey Indians), the 149th Lambton (with Ojibwa Indians from Walpole Island and the Sarnia Reserve), and the 160th Bruce (with Ojibwa and Potawatomi Indians from the Saugeen and Cape Croker reserves) were dispatched overseas.[35]

William Charles McKay, an active Conservative party supporter from Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, wrote to Scott in November 1915, suggesting the dispatch of three hundred Indians from the Prince Albert area to the Ontario-based 114th Overseas Battalion, which already had many Indian recruits.[36] McKay had worked with natives as a contractor on treaty payment expeditions. Scott gave an encouraging reply in which he stated, "I... would not put any obstacle in your way... [but] The Militia Department, however, does not seem to be very willing to enlist Indians for overseas service."[37] Scott, therefore suggested McKay check with the Militia Department. McKay contacted Sam Hughes in January 1916, claiming that recruitment would appeal "to Indians from a race standpoint... These fellows are men of metal [*sic*] [and] would make first class material... Government demand for large addition[al] enrollment surely justifies acceptance of this offer."[38] He added "that these Indians will be given a chance to show themselves as a separate unit, as the ordinary person knows they are not anxious to mix up in other companies."[39] S.J. Donaldson, the member of Parliament for Prince Albert, supported McKay's request in a letter to Hughes:

> I may say that I would be very much in favour of you allowing Mr. McKay to carry out his proposition... If you had 300 or more of these Indians at the Front they would make good snipers as they are crack marksmen and they are as tough as any class of people I have ever met in this country...[40]

Donaldson himself in late 1915 had taken a commission of lieutenant-colonel and commanded the 188th Battalion, stationed at Kamsack, Saskatchewan, where he recruited a number of Indians from the Pelly Agency.[41]

Samek notes that, "Ironically, Indian soldiers most often claimed attention and received praise for behavior that Indian service officials tried to obliterate." And Michael L. Tate, "From Scout to Doughboy: The National Debate over Integrating American Indians into the Military, 1891-1918," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (October 1986): 427. It was noted that, "articles dramatized the 'natural ability' of Indian men to scout, survive in harsh battlefield conditions, and to work behind enemy lines for the purposes of collecting intelligence and capturing enemy prisoners."

[34] Ibid; Newell, "Indian Contributions to Modern Civilization," 25. Newell notes that "trench warfare and scout duty is a typical Indian method of waging war."

[35] Verne De Witt Rowell, "Canadian Indians at the Front," *New York Times Current History* 4, pt. 2 (August 1917): 290-92.

[36] NA, RG 10, vol. 6766, file 452-13, letter, W.C. McKay to D.C. Scott, November 1, 1915.

[37] Ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to W.M. McKay, November 9, 1915.

[38] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, letter, W.C. McKay to Sir Sam Hughes, January 5, 1916.

[39] Ibid., letter, W.C. McKay to Sir Sam Hughes, January 5, 1916.

[40] Ibid., letter, S.J. Donaldson to Sir Sam Hughes, November 26, 1915.

[41] *Winnipeg Telegram*, April 7, 1917.

Opposition to all-Indian units still arose from some quarters. W.M. Graham, the Inspector of Indian Agencies for southern Saskatchewan, spoke against the idea. The Ontario-born bureaucrat had begun his career as a clerk at the Birtle Agency in Manitoba. In 1904 he was promoted to Inspector of Indian Agencies for the Qu'Appelle district in Saskatchewan, and then to the post of inspector for all of southern Saskatchewan. By 1914 he had served over thirty years in the Indian service.[42] Graham felt Indian recruits,

> would do much better if they mingled with whites, allowing them to pick up their work much more quickly and would be more contented among whites, especially as nearly all the enlisted Indians are educated and could easily fall into line with their white brothers. Then again, if they went to the front as a unit, and if by any chance they went into action and suffered tremendous casualties, there would always be a feeling among their friends at home that their sons had been placed in a more dangerous position than the whites. Of course this would not have been the case, but one must remember that the old Indian is quite primitive and does not understand things as we do.[43]

The all-Indian unit never materialized, not because of Graham's objections but because it proved impossible to obtain enough Indian recruits to maintain a large military fighting unit at the front. The Indian population, after all, only numbered roughly 100,000 out of the total Canadian population of nearly nine million. Efforts to recruit Indians into existing non-Indian units did, however, continue. In early 1916, Lieutenant Colonel Glen Lyon Campbell, from the 107th Pioneer Battalion, wrote to Scott seeking permission to recruit Indians from the Elkhorn and Brandon Industrial Schools in Manitoba. Campbell had served in Boulton's Scouts during the Riel Rebellion of 1885. A staunch Conservative, he had been elected a member of the Manitoba Legislature for Gilbert Plains in 1902, and had become the member of Parliament for Dauphin in 1908. After losing his seat in the election of 1911 the new Conservative administration appointed him Chief Inspector of Indian Agencies for Manitoba and the North-West Territories, but he had resigned his office shortly after the outbreak of war in order to enlist.[44]

The former chief inspector wanted to form a number of platoons of natives in his battalion. If he could get residential school pupils, he believed the young men "would be under closer and more kindly supervision than in any other Battalion in the west."[45] Yet Campbell's desire to enlist the boys, "even if they were not quite eighteen years of age,"[46] hints perhaps at his real wish — to increase his battalion's strength.

With some hesitation, Duncan Campbell Scott endorsed the idea and did his best to help. The Deputy Superintendent-General pointed out, however, that parents who had their children in the schools might complain if the Department used its influence to encourage them to enlist. Yet, in somewhat convoluted logic, Scott added that if the parents did so, they would be "breaking their treaty obligations, as they promised to be loyal citizens and it is anything but loyal to prevent recruiting."[47] Scott believed "there should be some good material at Elkhorn,"[48] as the pupils already had drilling experience. He also encouraged Campbell to visit the reserves.[49]

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[42] Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1985), 35.

[43] William Morris Graham (introduction by James Dempsey), *Treaty Days: Reflections of an Indian Commissioner* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1991), 100.

[44] *Who's Who and Why* (Toronto: Canadian Press Association, 1912), 84-85; J.K. Johnson (ed.), *The Canadian Directory of Parliament, 1867-1967* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1968), 93.

[45] NA, RG 10, vol. 6766, file 452-13, letter, Lieut-Col. Glen Campbell to D.C. Scott, February 3, 1916.

[46] Ibid.

Campbell's efforts at recruiting succeeded. When the 107th Pioneer Battalion went overseas (where it became a pioneer or logging and construction battalion) it had more than five hundred Indians on its rolls. Among them were representatives from many different tribes, including Cree, Ojibwa and Sioux from the West; Iroquois, Delaware and Ojibwa from Ontario and Quebec; and Micmac from the Maritime provinces. Campbell praised the courage, discipline, and intelligence of his Indian soldiers in the most enthusiastic terms, and particularly commented upon their ability to adapt themselves without complaint to awkward circumstances and bad weather, which rendered their efficiency in a pioneer battalion far above the average.[50]

It was a sad testimony to attitudes of the period that many Indians who enlisted in hope of becoming combat troops were instead recruited by pioneer battalions and units of the Canadian Forestry Corps and Canadian Railway Troops, where they were involved in trench digging, bridge building, and other physical work. This was less of a reflection on their willingness and ability to fight than it was on the discriminatory attitudes of the military bureaucracy. Indians often were stereotyped as ill-educated recruits who were best suited for manual labour, despite the fact that some of the best snipers were Canadian natives.

Two other men who attempted to recruit Indians in early 1916 were S.J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Agencies for Manitoba, and W.E. Read, a private citizen from Lipton, Saskatchewan. Jackson concentrated his efforts on the Brandon Industrial School,[51] while Read recruited in the western part of Saskatchewan's Military District (No. 10).[52] However, since Campbell had already visited the industrial school, and had also informed Read that he would not be able to raise a battalion at that time because nearly all the useful and available men had already enlisted from Saskatchewan, it is doubtful if their efforts were successful.[53]

In Alberta, Lieutenant Colonel James K. (Peace River Jim) Cornwall formed a regiment known as the "Irish Guards," a unit which had members who spoke almost every language known to the European continent. The unit, according to one source, included sixteen interpreters, with Cornwall himself as the native interpreter for the fifty Indians who formed part of his 8th Battalion. Apparently Cornwall knew some Cree, Chipewyan, Dogrib, and several Inuit dialects as a result of his years in the North. Reportedly, all Indians in the unit could speak some English by the time they reached France.[54]

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[47] Ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to Glen Campbell, February 11, 1916.

[48] Ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to Glen Campbell, February 7, 1916.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 314.

[51] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, letter, H.W. Ruttan, District Officer Commanding, M.D. No. 10, to Secretary, Military Council, January 21, 1916.

[52] Ibid., letter, H.W. Ruttan, District Officer Commanding M.D. No. 10, to Secretary, Military Council, February 3, 1916.

[53] Ibid., letter, District Officer Commanding M.D. No. 10 to Secretary, Military Council, February 3, 1916.

Although Scott, Campbell, McKay, and others supported Indian enlistment, at least one Indian agent was opposed. W.J. Dilworth, agent on the Blood Reserve, questioned the enlistment of Indians, not on ethical grounds, but rather on account of their "tendency to develop consumption [tuberculosis]."[55] In a letter to Scott he stated:

> I have rather discouraged any idea of enlisting... I have feared that when they went into lower altitudes, and became subjected to poisonous gasses, this tendency would also immediately break out into tuberculosis and instead of the Indians being an assistance in numbers they would be a burden on the medical and Red Cross service. I would like to have some of our young men go and many would undoubtedly go, were it not for the inherent weakness.[56]

Dilworth supported his opinion by citing the example of Albert Mountain Horse:

> He was only about three weeks in the trenches when gassed, and he developed tuberculosis at once, and since May was a care on hospitals. This young man was as strong a young fellow as there was on the reserve.[57]

Others were against the enlistment of certain types of natives. Scott opposed the recruitment of Indians from isolated districts who had little or no knowledge of English. Even though they were familiar with firearms, he wrote,

> the usual routine of drill must be undergone by every soldier to fit himself to take his place in the ranks; and lack of knowledge of English is a very great disadvantage in receiving instruction. Under the circumstances I am of the opinion that it would be well to confine the efforts in recruiting to reserves... where most of the Indians have been closer in touch with white people and have a knowledge of the English language.[58]

W.M. Graham seconded this. He reported "cases where Indians who could not speak a word of English wanted to join up, but the fact that they could not understand English was an obstacle that prevented their enlistment.[59] Alphonse Littlepoplar, a Cree Indian from the Sweet Grass Reserve, believed it was the inability to speak English which resulted in the low enlistment rate in the Battleford Agency area. He thought that "the reason so few joined up was because if they did not speak the English language they were rejected. I know in the Second World War many Indians were turned down because they spoke no English."[60]

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[54] Harold Fryer, *Alberta: The Pioneer Years* (Langley, BC: Stagecoach Publishing, 1977), 89-90.

[55] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, letter, W.J. Dilworth to D.C. Scott, January 17, 1916.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid. Indians were not the only ones to fall victim to poisonous gas and become a "burden" on the medical services. While the humid European climate during the war may not have been favourable to Indians, it is probable that the youth mentioned already had tuberculosis and the situation simply aggravated his condition. This was deemed to be the cause of Elijah Tait's tuberculosis. After going overseas and being wounded, he developed tuberculosis. In his medical report it was noted that "he gives no history of illness before enlistment, but almost certainly had tuberculosis more or less latent" (Medical Report, Department of Personnel Records, July 15, 1918). Also it has been noted that "the tubercular soldiers comprised a significant proportion of the Canadian war casualties. By 1940, the Canadian Tuberculosis Association estimated the high costs of the Great War — for every 100 men killed in action, six died of tuberculosis. For every 100 men pensioned, 25 received theirs for tuberculosis." Darlene J. Zdunich, "Tuberculosis and the Canadian Veterans of World War I" (MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1984), 49.

[58] Ibid., file 452-13, letter, D.C. Scott to W.B. Brown, Port Arthur Indian agent, March 21, 1916. Scott finished the letter by comparing the Indians' lack of knowledge of English with that of recent immigrants: "We have seen this in the case of foreigners, or the descendants of foreigners, in our regiments here." See also James S. Woodsworth's *Strangers Within Our Gates*, (Toronto: F.C. Stephenson, Methodist Mission Rooms, 1909), 5-7. Woodsworth places Indians in the same category as "the motley crowd of immigrants" that are in Canada.

So desperate, however, did the army become for enlistments in the latter part of 1916 (after the battle at St. Eloi and the major Allied effort at the Somme which cost the Canadian army 24,029 men[61]) that it paid little attention to an Indian's lack of English. Edward Ahenakew, a Cree Anglican minister, noted that enlistment had been high even in isolated areas where English was not a common language. Writing after the war he stated:

> a large part of the Indian population is located in remote and inaccessible places, is unacquainted with the English language, and could not understand the war, its cause or effect; yet the percentage of enlistment is equal to that in other sections of the community, and far above average in a number of instances.[62]

Ahenakew's argument is supported by examining the record of the 107th Pioneer Battalion where Lieutenant Colonel Glen Campbell frequently spoke on parade in the native tongues of his men, and sometimes even held orderly room trials in their language. This probably was necessary as many of the Indians in the 107th did not understand English.[63] There is also the case of an Indian from the Duck Lake Agency, John Waymistigoos (or Mayotigoos), who was accepted into the Saskatchewan Forestry Depot because he could use carpenters' tools, even though he could not speak English.[64]

Due to the drastic need for men in the spring of 1916, Scott introduced a major change of policy, personally endorsing agents' attempts to actively recruit Indians on their particular reserves. As a result, members of the military and Indian Department proposed new recruiting campaigns among the Indians late in the year. The plans called for military personnel working in conjunction with a member of the Indian Department to raise native units. The plan, devised by Lieutenant Maxwell Graham of the 253rd Battalion, received Duncan Campbell Scott's full support.[65] Graham pointed out that the enlistment total of 155 Indians from the West (which, by late 1916, included 89 from Manitoba, 57 from Saskatchewan, and nine from Alberta) was far below what could be obtained.[66] Across Canada he estimated there were 22,500 able-bodied adult Indian males of whom the greater number could understand English, while the three prairie provinces alone had more than 6,000 able-bodied candidates. To aid in the recruitment campaign, Graham recommended that "selected Indians now overseas be brought back for recruiting purposes... that photographs be shown the Indians of this Dominion, of their compatriots in uniform."[67]

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[59] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 98.

[60] Letter, Alphonse Littlepoplar to Hugh Dempsey, March 6, 1985 (in Dempsey's possession).

[61] Graham, "Through the First War," 179-81.

[62] Edward Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973), 120.

[63] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 314.

[64] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, letter, C.P. Schmidt, Duck Lake Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, May 17, 1919. By a strange coincidence prior to enlisting, Waymistigoos had married the widow of Almighty Voice, who had died in 1897 in the last Indian armed resistance against the Canadian government.

[65] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, memorandum, Lt. Maxwell Graham to Lt.-Col. P.G.C. Campbell, November 30, 1916.

[66] Ibid.

As if to fulfill Graham's plan, Charles A. Cooke, a native employee at the headquarters of the Indian Department, sent a proposal to the Minister of Militia. Cooke, an Iroquois, believed that the native population outside of Ontario had been overlooked, and therefore offered his services as a recruiting officer, listing his qualifications as a lieutenant in the 114th Battalion, fluent in two native languages, and with several months' experience in recruiting among the Indians in Ontario.[68]

Even before these proposals were made, the Canadian Army had used Indians to encourage both natives and non-natives to enlist. This resulted in a unique situation occurring at the File Hills Agency, where a brass band made up of ex-pupils from the boarding schools assisted in recruiting at Red Cross meetings and other patriotic gatherings.[69] W.M. Graham attended every recruiting meeting with the band and admired the success they achieved in many Saskatchewan communities. However, after they had played in an apathetic town where only one or two in the audience signed up, the members of the band held a short meeting among themselves, and then announced that they had all decided to enlist. Graham pointed out that many of them had families and were just starting on their farms, but his argument did not change their minds. They replied that while in the army their families would be taken care of by the various aid organizations, and the Department could look after their farms and livestock. Graham resigned himself to accepting their decision and tried to keep as many of the families on their farms as possible during their absence by hiring very young or very old Indians to carry on the work.[70]

In the summer of 1916, William C. Bryan took on the task of organizing an infantry unit, the 191st Battalion, in southern Alberta. Known as "Bryan's Buffaloes,"[71] it targeted Indians from the Blood and Peigan reserves during the recruitment campaign. On the Blood Reserve, Joe Healy, an Indian scout for the Mounted Police, proved to be an enthusiastic supporter. He attempted to enlist members of his tribe during the Sun Dance being held on the reserve, making his appeal on behalf of the 191st. However, Healy noted that the young men were too busy with the ceremonies to pay much attention to his recruiting speeches, even when he told them that he would be willing to go to the front with them if he could obtain leave from the Mounted Police.[72]

The shortage of reinforcements for the army began to be especially serious during the winter of 1916-17, when only about half as many men were enlisting as were being lost in action.[73] During the Battle of Vimy Ridge in April 1917,

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[67] Ibid., memorandum, Lt. Maxwell Graham to Lt.-Col. P.G.C. Campbell, December 4, 1916.

[68] Ibid., letter, Charles A. Cooke to Minister of Militia, December 15, 1916.

[69] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 308.

[70] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 98.

[71] Christopher R. Kilford, *Lethbridge at War: The Military History of Lethbridge from 1900 to 1996* (Lethbridge: Battery Books, 1996), 45.

[72] *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, July 15, 1916. Joe Healy, or Flying Chief, was my great-grandfather and was almost sixty when he made his appeal.

[73] Graham, "Through the First War," 187.

Canada suffered 10,000 casualties, of which 3,600 were fatal. The long fight for Passchendaele would cost a further 15,654 lives and seriously deplete Canada's military strength in France.[74] As a result, the army again found it necessary to examine its policy regarding the use of Indians. The military now consulted the Indian Department as to the possibility of raising Indian battalions, even though the idea had been rejected at the beginning of the war. Those originally opposed to the use of native soldiers now reversed their opinions. Lieutenant Colonel C.S. MacIrvine, for example, observed that "it might perhaps be possible to utilize Indians in Railway Construction or Forestry Battalions, which are being recruited practically all over Canada."[75] The situation was deemed to be desperate enough that "we need every man we can get."[76]

In a effort to help, Scott promised as early as January 1917 that he "would use the Departmental organization to a large extent in endeavouring to stimulate recruiting."[77] He thought that "certain members of our Inside and Outside Service might devote their entire energies to this work. I will at once prepare a circular to the Indian agents throughout Canada, and will write special letters to the men whom I have just particularized as being able to devote their whole time to the service."[78]

To meet the enlistment challenge, Scott recommended S.J. Jackson to the Militia Department in 1917 as a man who could "organize a campaign in Manitoba to get Indians and Half-breeds to enlist in Forestry and Railway Construction Battalions."[79] Jackson responded by stating:

> I have no hesitation in offering to raise at least 2 units of 250 men between 18 and 50 years of age from the Oak River and The Pas reserves, for the purpose of railway construction, forestry work, and road building, one unit to be enlisted by the middle of May, and the other by the first of September.[80]

To raise railway construction, forestry and road-building battalions, Jackson enlisted the aid of James McDonald, Indian agent from Griswold, Manitoba, W.A. Henry, principal of Portage la Prairie Indian boarding school, and the Reverend Louis Leronde, of McKay School in Manitoba. In addition, Archbishop John Sinnott of Winnipeg gave his permission to assign one of the lay brothers from either Sandy Bay or Pine Creek Indian boarding schools to help with the recruiting work.[81]

W.R. Taylor, Indian agent at The Pas, also sought to help with Indian enlistment. After he resigned his position to enlist in the 249th Battalion, he tried to recruit an Indian platoon for his battalion. Taylor asked Scott to send a message to the chief, via the current Indian agent, encouraging physically fit young men to enlist.[82] Later, Taylor transferred to a construction battalion, but continued to recruit among the Indians, using his ability to speak Cree and Ojibwa. Taylor found that the Woodland Cree (unlike the Plains Cree) in The Pas area were more willing to join a construction unit, rather than a fighting unit.[83] Impressed by Taylor's results, Scott recommended him to Major H. Daly of the Department of Militia and Defence, noting that he would probably be better suited to the task of construction recruiting than S.J. Jackson, whom Scott had recommended earlier.[84]

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[74] Ibid., 181-83.

[75] NA, RG 10, vol. 6766, file 452-13, letter, Eugene Fiset, Surgeon General, Department of Militia and Defence to D.C. Scott, January 11, 1917; ibid., letter, Lt. Col. C.S. MacIrvine to D.C. Scott, February 9, 1917.

[76] Ibid.

[77] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, letter, D.C. Scott to Eugene Fiset, Surgeon General, January 15, 1917.

[78] Ibid.

[79] NA, RG 10, vol. 6766, file 452-13, night lettergram, D.C. Scott to S.J. Jackson, January 15, 1917; ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to Hon. A.E. Kemp, Minister of Militia and Defence, February 9, 1917.

[80] Ibid., letter, S.J. Jackson to D.C. Scott, January 26, 1917.

[81] Ibid.

Other recruiting agents in 1917 included Lieutenant Joseph Jones, the former Indian agent at Norway House, who volunteered to enlist men for the forestry corps. He requested permission to travel with Inspector John Semmens, Indian agent T.H. Carter of Fisher River, and Dr. H.C. Norquay of Norway House on their annual treaty payment trip through northern Manitoba.[85] Even though Jones managed to recruit a number of Indians, his previous position as Norway House Agent did not assist him in avoiding opposition by the band chiefs.[86] At isolated Island Lake, for example, Dr. Norquay received a request from the chief not to bring anyone to recruit their young men. The doctor was opposed as well, pointing out that of the twelve Indians Jones had recruited, only three were accepted into the army. Furthermore, five had been rejected the previous year, a fact which Jones already knew.[87]

Another western Indian Department official who joined the recruiting campaign, with Scott's endorsement, was Henry J. Bury, an official at the signing of Treaty 8, who felt confident that he could easily recruit at least 250 able-bodied Indians. He proposed that he, together with a doctor and an officer of the 253rd Battalion, go into northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories to examine the fitness of each Indian candidate. The recruits would then be shipped by scows to Peace River Landing, and finally to Edmonton. Bury also wanted to be given a commission in the 253rd and placed second-in-command of the Indian company. Anxious to see as many Indian soldiers as possible, Scott endorsed his plan.[88]

In Saskatchewan, William Murison, the Indian agent for Touchwood, also actively recruited for the army. He wrote Scott, explaining that he had recruited seventeen men in February 1916 and had personally taken them to Winnipeg. In March 1917 he reported: "I have recruited 35 men altogether myself and have also given assistance to recruiting officers who have visited our district from time to time."[89] He went on further to point out that, "I have been fortunate in being able to gain the confidence of a class of men who could not be induced to offer their services by the ordinary recruiting officer."[90]

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[82] Ibid., letter, W.R. Taylor to D.C. Scott, January 22, 1917.

[83] Ibid., letter, W.R. Taylor to D.C. Scott, April 11, 1917. Taylor received permission to recruit Indians for a forestry draft in M.D. No. 10 on April 23, 1917, see NA, RG 24, vol. 488, file HQ54-21-4-87.

[84] Ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to Major H. Daly, April 20, 1917.

[85] Ibid., letter, J. Jones to D.C. Scott, May 18, 1917.

[86] Ibid., letter, J.R. Bunn, Inspector of Indian Agencies for Manitoba, to J.D. McLean, June 28, 1917.

[87] Ibid., letter, John Bunn, Inspector of Indian Agencies for Manitoba, to D.C. Scott, June 28, 1917; ibid., letter, H.C. Norquay to D.C. Scott, August 25, 1917. Jones received permission to recruit Indians for the No. 1005 Foresty Reinforcing Draft in M.D. No. 10 on May 15, 1917, see NA, RG 24, vol. 490, file HQ54-21-4-115.

[88] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, memorandum, Lt. Maxwell Graham to Lt.-Col. P.G.C. Campbell, November 30, 1916.

The war also provided the opportunity for Indian agents to remove some of their troublesome cases. Harold Laird, acting Indian agent for Grouard, Alberta, was given permission to allow an Indian boy, Arthur Church from Whitefish Lake, to enlist in the army even though he was only seventeen. The decision was made upon the recommendation of Anglican Bishop Robbins who stated that "the boy would be better for the training received in a military camp, being now difficult to control."[91] The enlistment of Church was simplified since the bands at Whitefish Lake were reported to "not only be willing to go to the front, but anxious to be accepted."[92]

As the war dragged on and Canada's military stepped up its efforts to increase the number of recruits, a real fear existed on the part of some bands that their young men might be forced to join the Canadian army against their will and be sent overseas. In southern Alberta, these fears had arisen early in the conflict as a result of over-zealousness on the part of one of the officials. In December 1914, the tribes of that area "had been much disturbed by the notion of an Official of this Department asking the different Agents how many Indians would be prepared to go to Europe as scouts in the present war."[93] The letter of enquiry had come from the then Chief Inspector Glen Campbell, who was trying to organize a company of Indian scouts for wartime service.[94] The chiefs still remembered the Riel Rebellion, at which time they had been asked to send men to act as scouts.[95] When J.D. McLean heard about the letter, he contacted the agents and observed:

> I may say that the Department has not authorized any such letter to be written by any of its officials and should be glad if you would assure the Indians that the Department has no intention of asking them to volunteer as scouts in the present war or any other capacity, that it is perfectly satisfied from the evidence already shown of their loyalty and is desirous that they should continue in their peaceful vocations.[96]

Most bands had no objections to their members volunteering, but they opposed the European practice of active recruiting. This was contrary to traditional Indian practices whereby young men voluntarily joined raiding parties and were never forced to go. Interestingly, it was often noted by Indian Department and military officials that the sources of opposition to recruitment in most cases were the older and more traditional members of the band, often referred to by officials as "the Pagan Indians."[97] After the war, Edward Ahenakew explained why many elders argued against military service overseas:

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[89] NA, RG 10, vol. 6766, file 452-12, letter, William Murison to D.C. Scott, March 19, 1917.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid., file 452-13, letter, J.D. McLean to Harold Laird, April 20, 1917.

[92] *Edmonton Bulletin*, December 3, 1917.

[93] NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 1, form letter, J.D. McLean to agents of Blackfoot, Blood, Sarcee, Peigan, and Stony bands, December 10, 1914.

[94] GA, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 13, file 98, letter, W.J. Dilworth to J.D. McLean, December 21, 1914. However, in July 1915, Campbell did receive authorization to raise for a corps of guides. See *Calgary News-Telegram*, July 20, 1915.

[95] Hugh A. Dempsey, *Red Crow, Warrior Chief* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980), 152-53.

[96] NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 1, form letter, J.D. McLean to agents of Blackfoot, Blood, Sarcee, Peigan, and Stony bands, December 10, 1914; GA, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 13, file 98, letter, J.D. McLean to W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, December 10, 1914.

> Our old men, who remembered the days of warfare, were opposed to our people taking part and did what they could to discourage it — not from disloyalty, but because it seemed against nature to them that an Indian should go to fight in a distant land and perhaps lay his body to mingle with earth that was not ours. It did not seem even England's quarrel, and much less Canada's. As they understood, England was helping other nations, and not fighting for her own life. If our land were attacked, they said, then it would be up to every man to fight, but not in this way. Their talk went unheeded. Youth is youth the world over.[98]

As the active recruiting campaigns escalated, Indians occasionally protested the presence of the military men and Indian Department officials on their reserves. For example, two elders from the Ojibwa of the Thames Reserve at Carador outside of London, Ontario, levelled protests against recruiters for the 114th Overseas Battalion who were signing up men from Manitoba and Ontario. These elders apparently travelled all over the reserve, trying to prevent their young men from considering enlistment. The recruiting officer complained that "if I am to have any success in the recruiting of Indians on this reserve, these two men have got to be dealt within a manner that will be the means of preventing them from further injuring the just cause."[99]

At the same time, Scott refused to permit excessive pressure to be exerted on potential Indian enlistees. Whenever local Indian agents objected to recruiting practices, the Deputy Superintendent-General supported them. On the Blackfoot Reserve, when Agent J.H. Gooderham experienced a problem with recruiters, he asked for and received Scott's support.[100] Captain Rankin and local rancher Douglas Hardwick had attended an Indian dance and addressed the Indians, urging them to enlist. They succeeded in recruiting some fifteen men who immediately left for Calgary to join the 191st Battalion. Of that number, the army accepted six.[101] The chiefs were not present at the dance, and when they heard what had happened they met with Lieutenant Colonel W.C. Bryan, commander of the 191st Battalion, requesting that the boys be released immediately. They said their agent had promised that none of their young men would be required to fight for Canada.[102] The meeting had the desired effect and all the Blackfoot recruits were released before any of them saw action. After the elders' protest, Agent Gooderham succeeded in persuading Scott to ban all recruiters from the reserve.[103]

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[97] GA, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 16, file 121, letter, W.J. Dilworth to Lieut. Col. Bryan, O.C. 191st Btn., February 19, 1917; NA, RG 10, vol. 6771, file 452-35, pt 1, letter, James McDonald, Griswold Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, April 24, 1917.

[98] Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree*, 120.

[99] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, letter, Lt. Col. E.S. Baxter, Officer Commanding 114th Overseas Battalion, to Major George H. Williams, December 21, 1915. During these recruiting drives, protests came from all across Canada. For example, George Fisher, chief of the Ojibwa of the Thames Reserve near London, Ontario, sent a letter to protest to Sir Edward Grey, a British member of Parliament. He pointed out that boys of sixteen from his reserve were being recruited and because "we are not citizens and have no votes... the Indian Department looks at us as minors in the eyes of the law... our boys are loyal to the Flag, but the little boys should be weeded out," ibid., Fisher to Grey, February 19, 1916.

[100] NA, RG 10, vol. 6766, file 452-13, night lettergram, D.C. Scott to J.H. Gooderham, January 30, 1917.

[101] *Calgary Herald*, January 26, 1917.

[102] NA, RG 10, vol. 6766, file 452-13, letter, J.H. Gooderham to D.C. Scott, February 3, 1917;

The Blackfoot elders also sought the discharges of two men, Mike Foxhead (or Many Bears) and Cyril Foxhead (or Old Woman at War), who had enlisted earlier. Cyril Foxhead had enlisted at Calgary in 1917 with the 191st Battalion at the age of twenty-five, but he then complied with the elders' wishes to return home. He petitioned to obtain his release on the grounds that his people opposed any band members going to war. In addition, a petition of the chiefs was sent to the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, stating that many of the men who left the reserve fell victim to disease and died, and they feared this would happen to their boys.[104] As a result of the chiefs' petition, instructions were sent to the commanding officer of Military District No. 13 to discharge Cyril. Mike Foxhead, however, refused to be released and went overseas with his unit. He was killed in action.[105]

Some of the missionaries who taught at the reserve schools also attempted to prevent their students from enlisting. Barney Lacendre, a native from northern Alberta, remembered a priest who convinced him to stay at home:

> The First World War came along and as I was big for my age, I thought I could lie and get into the army. This didn't work out either, because the priest would cut pictures out of the paper of buildings that had been destroyed in the war. "Look, Barney, if you'd been in that building, you'd be dead right now. Don't go. Stay here." That priest sure liked me a lot. He kept coaxing me to stay.[106]

The fact that some elders spoke against overseas service did not mean that they opposed the war effort. The western Canadian Indians contributed a substantial amount of money to the fund drives, and participated in Red Cross work and other wartime activities. A total of $44,545.46 was donated to various patriotic funds by the Indians of Canada while a further $8,750 was not accepted because the particular bands were not in a financial position to make the donation.[107] James McDonald, Griswold Indian agent, for example, stated that, "I know these Indians have no money to give away for Patriotic or any other purpose... They have not paid all their seed wheat to the Department and they will be asking the Department to buy them seed wheat and potatoes in the Spring..."[108] The agent for the Stoney Reserve in Alberta simply noted the Indians were too poor to contribute.[109] Scott himself, on occasion, suggested what a band should contribute. Referring to two reserves in Ontario, he mentioned that since

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ibid., vol. 6767, file 453-15, pt. 1, letter, William Gordon, Blackfoot Assistant Agent, to J.D. McLean, February 23, 1917.

[103] Ibid., night lettergram, D.C. Scott to J.H. Gooderham, January 30, 1917.

[104] Ibid., night lettergram, head chiefs of the Blackfoot to D.C. Scott, February 20, 1917.

[105] Ibid., file 452-15, pt. 1, letter, D.C. Scott to Chiefs Iron Shield and Yellow Horse, March 8, 1917.

[106] Barney Lacendre (edited by Owen Salway), *The Bushman and the Spirits* (Beaverlodge, AB: Horizon House Publishers, 1979), 59-60.

[107] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 318.

[108] NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 2, letter, James McDonald, Griswold Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, February 1918.

[109] Ibid., file 452-2, 1, letter, J.W. Waddy to D.C. Scott, March 1915.

"we have not, so far, heard anything from the Indians of the Dokis or the Nipissing Reserves, I think the Dokis ought to give at least $1,500 to this fund and the Nipissing Indians about $200."[110]

The agents' pressure probably accounted for some of the contributions, the most notable being the File Hills Reserve where W.M. Graham succeeded in obtaining $8,562 from the band members, the largest sum donated by any agency. Such actions led the Muscowpetung Reserve in Saskatchewan to complain. Echeyase, a member of the band, wrote to J.D. McLean and questioned the agent's actions:

> I drop you a few lines to let you know that we got paid... for our land money. And after the payment our Agent, Mr. H. Nichol, read us a letter from the Indian Department of Ottawa, asking us to do no doubt a good act of charity, if we were able to do it. But unfortunately we are all more or less too poor, he ask us to supply $1000 to Belgian Relief Fund. We consider this amount is far too much for our means... We are willing to contribute a reasonable amount.[111]

Scott stoutly denied any such letter had been written by the Department and Indian agent Nichol further stated that no such letter was ever read. Likely the truth will never be known, but the Indian Department immediately covered itself by blackening the reputation of the accuser, saying that Echeyase's background was questionable since he was deemed to be a "trouble maker."[112]

According to various agents' reports, the majority of patriotic contributions came at the initiation of band members. The Bloods, for example, called a meeting of the council when they heard that war had been declared. The agent explained that

> they asked me what I thought they could do to aid the King, and that they wished to aid the King in his hour of peril. I told them that nothing was asked of them[,] that whatever they wished to give the King they could tell me of and I would... forward the results of their decision to our own Department for transmission. They said they were giving not for the value but as a token of the pride they have in their country, their King and their Government, that their hearts were full of well wishes and thankfulness for past treatment.[113]

In the case of the Sioux of Oak River, they bypassed their agent and sent their donation and a letter directly to the King. It stated: "We made a little collection of money and we have collect $101... nobody ask us to do this we are doing this with our free will this is not much but we are doing it with all our hearts."[114]

As these examples of native financial support became known by the Patriotic Fund Board, they saw the opportunity to use them for propaganda purposes to shame non-Indians into giving more. When H.B. Ames, the secretary of the fund, was informed that Moo-chew-eines, from the Onion Lake Reserve in Saskatchewan, had given $150 to the fund, he wanted to know more about the man. He wrote Scott and pointed out that "we are now looking for every human story we can get to help our campaign for the Canadian Patriotic Fund... Can you get the story, or could you get him to write a letter, as to why he made the subscription? We can use this to advantage in the press."[115] Moo-chew-eines was persuaded to give his reasons in a letter to Scott using Cree syllabics. He wrote: "I heard there was a big war going on over there; I feel like I want to help you some way and the best I can do is to send a little money for I can't go myself as I am nearly blind. This is to show you I like to help you."[116]

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[110] Ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to C.P. Cockburn, Indian agent, January 1916.

[111] Ibid., file 452-2, 2, letter, E. Hoise, Muscowpetung's Reserve, to J.D. McLean, April 1916.

[112] Ibid., letter, H. Nichol, Qu'Appelle Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, May 1916.

[113] GA, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 13, file 98, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, August 8, 1914.

[114] NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 1, letter, Sioux Indians of Oak River Reserve to the King of England, no date.

Moo-chew-eines' letter was made into a poster and distributed across Canada, and Scott requested twelve copies to be placed on the Cree reserves in Saskatchewan. Ames thanked Scott for his support and noted, "you and your Indians give us a continuing succession of splendid news items. We scatter the broadcast with the intimation that if an Indian can see his duty in such a fashion, there is no excuse for a white man in falling down in his."[117]

On many reserves, Indian women formed Red Cross societies and patriotic leagues. They knitted socks, sweaters and mufflers, made bandages, and provided various comforts for the soldiers. Social entertainments were held where the sale of native crafts helped to raise money for patriotic purposes.[118] Such support came, in part, to show their loyalty and at the same time to "buy out their young men" or, in other words, to send money instead of recruits. In Manitoba, T.H. Carter, Indian agent for Fisher River, held a meeting with Chief Pahkoo of the Peguis Band. After being informed by Carter that "assistance to the Empire was urgent and that his people's sons... were required to give their help in the common cause,"[119] Chief Pahkoo replied not with men, but with money. He said "all present would willingly give all they have to avoid war... [and] to ask the band for more of their funds when the need arose."[120] In the case of the Blackfoot, the Reverend H.W. Gibbon Stocken noted that "they felt they could not face the thought of sending their young men to the front for several reasons, but they are more than willing to give money towards the Patriotic Fund."[121] The other "several reasons" included a belief that sickness and reservation life had already killed too many men and if the rest enlisted the band would die out. They also were worried that if the men were not killed in battle, the humid atmosphere of Europe might prove fatal to them in the same way that their attendance at residential and industrial schools had created such a high mortality rate.[122]

However, neither the protests against active recruiting nor their generous donations to the various funds seemed to have the power to exclude Canada's natives from conscription. Indian fears that they would be forced to fight overseas seemed to become more of a reality in late 1916, when the government formed the National Service Board to take a national census of Canada's population. By identifying Canada's manpower, the government could effectively hold men at home who could better serve in industry and agriculture while encouraging or forcing others to enlist.[123]

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[115] Ibid., file 452-2, 2, letter, H.B. Ames, Secretary Canadian Patriotic Fund, to D.C. Scott, November 1916.

[116] Ibid., letter, Moo-chew-eines to D.C. Scott, December 1916.

[117] Ibid., letter, H.B. Ames to D.C. Scott, February 1917.

[118] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 324.

[119] NA, RG 10, vol. 6768, file 452-20, pt. 1, letter, T.H. Carter, Fisher River Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, January 3, 1918.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., file 452-2, 2, letter, Rev. Canon H.W. Gibbon Stocken to D.C. Scott, April 1916.

[122] Ibid., file 452-1, 5, letter, H.W. Gibbon Stocken to D.C. Scott, March 1917.

The National Registration of all men and women over sixteen years of age occurred in the winter of 1916-17. The object of the registration ostensibly was to "gather information in the cause of increased production from an agricultural point of view; to ascertain where labour for essential industries may be found; and to prepare for a system of rationing food should it become necessary."[124] A special section was added for the benefit of Indian agents, in which the government addressed the question of Indian registration. It argued that registration had absolutely nothing to do with conscription, and repeated the statement that Indians had never been forced to serve in the army.[125] However, the National Registration did require every native to register.[126] Band chiefs were warned: "The result of failure to register will be so serious that very much hardship and suffering may occur on your Reserve."[127] Missionaries and school teachers made known the requirements and the purposes of the registration in order that no false conclusions jeopardize its success.[128] Scott later outlined a second reason for the census. It was necessary

> in order that certificates of exemption might be issued to them for their protection in the event of their being confused with eligible whites and also to prevent whites and half-breeds from passing themselves as Indians, a trick that was frequently resorted to by deserters after the passing of the Order-in-Council exempting the former.[129]

Confusion, however, did occur, with many Indians believing that registration was in fact conscription. For example, Chief Meeshe Keepinais of the Swan Lake Reserve in Manitoba wrote to Deputy Superintendent-General Scott asking if "the Government is going to take the young men all over this country and send them away to the war, we want to know at once if that includes the young Indians of these Reserves."[130] Ontario's Manitoulin Island bands also wrote the Department to find out if they were obligated to fill out the cards.[131] In answer to the inquiries, it was pointed out that "the Indians are under obligation to fill out and sign the National Service cards... You will understand that these cards do not mean enlistment in the overseas battalions, but a census of the industrial strength of the Dominion."[132]

Not surprisingly, there was some open opposition to registration. One Indian, John Gadieux, from the Port Arthur Agency in Ontario, refused to sign his card.

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123 Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers*, 31; John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-18* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), 116.

124 NA, RG 10, vol. 6770, file 452-26, pt. 1, Notes On Registration.

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid.

129 Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 295.

130 NA, RG 10, vol. 6768, file 452-20, pt. 1, letter, Chief Meeshe Keepinais to D.C. Scott, July 2, 1917.

131 Ibid., vol. 6766, file 452-12, letter, Charles S. King to J.D. McLean, January 9, 1917.

132 Ibid., letter, J.D. McLean to Charles S. King, February 1, 1917.

He wrote the Indian agent and stated: "Go to hell. Me to sign my name on that card, sign out your own name and leave me alone. If you think that every one is a fool like yourself you need not think that I am one."[133] The agent passed on the letter to Scott, who gave it to the Secretary of the National Service Board to decide whether or not to take "action against this Indian... Since the officers of this Department are not responsible for the enforcement of the Act."[134] On the Blood Reserve, Peter Black Rabbitt, George Long Time Squirrel, and John Pace also refused to register.[135] It is not known if any action was taken against them.

In Prime Minister Robert Borden's New Year's speech in January 1916, he had announced that Canada's authorized overseas force would be raised from 250,000 to 500,000 men.[136] Accordingly, the Military Service Act was passed on May 18, 1917, to meet the country's quota. Also, the Canadian Corps had come to be regarded as the symbol of Canada's identity and as a partner in the Allied cause, which made the question of maintaining its strength all the more vital. This enlistment problem had become crucial by 1917.[137]

Although the initial response in 1916 to Borden's appeal for more volunteers had been satisfactory, recruiting declined from 29,212 in January to 5,791 in December.[138] The January 1917 statistics noted that the official total of enlisted men was 383,955, far below the goal of half a million.[139] Furthermore, by 1917 it was evident that the war was not going well for the Allies and therefore more reinforcements were required. The battle for Vimy Ridge in April would further raise the Canadian Army's casualties to 89,843.[140] The combination of declining volunteer enlistments and the situation in Europe led Borden to adopt conscription to fill the quota.[141] This initially included Indians.[142] The Adjutant General of the Canadian Militia endorsed this decision, saying: "Indians are British subjects and come under the terms of the Military Service Act, just as any other British subjects."[143]

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[133] Ibid., letter, John Gadieux to W.R. Brown, Port Arthur Indian agent, January 1917.

[134] Ibid., letter, W.R. Brown, Port Arthur Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, January 16, 1917; ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to The Secretary, National Service Board, January 22, 1917; ibid., file 452-20, pt. 1, letter, D.C. Scott to R.S. McKenzie, Kenora (Ont.) Indian agent, October 24, 1917.

[135] GA, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 16, file 121, letter, W.J. Dilworth to J.M. Carson, Registrar, Military Service Act, September 5, 1918. In Dilworth's November 1917 report he noted that eight Bloods reported for service, twenty-one claimed exemption, fifteen were unreported, and three were in the United States, see ibid., letter, W.J. Dilworth to D.C. Scott, November 16, 1917.

[136] J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review: 1915* (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Co. Ltd., 1916), 186.

[137] The problem was caused by the long duration of the war, the high wastage of men at the front, and the fact that the Canadian Expeditionary Force was in action from early in 1915 to the very end of the war. Graham, "Through the First War," 184.

[138] Ibid.; *Edmonton Bulletin*, January 4, 1917.

[139] *Edmonton Bulletin*, January 4, 1917.

[140] Ibid., May 10, 1917.

[141] James A. Miller, "The Alberta Press and the Conscription Issue in the First World War, 1914-1918" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1974), 32.

[142] NA, RG 24, vol. 6566, file HQ1064-30-34, vol. 1, letter, Secretary, Military Sub-Committee, MSA, to District Military Representative, Military District No.10, October 24, 1917.

[143] Ibid., letter, Adjutant General, Canadian Militia, to Nicolas Crubin, Pointe au Pic, Co. Charleveix, October 27, 1917.

The Military Service Act only added to the confusion felt by the Indians and seemed to confirm their fears that registration and conscription were one and the same. Indians from across Canada reacted quickly. They protested that Indians should be exempt on the basis that they were not Canadian citizens and, in fact, they were minors and wards of the government without the right to vote. Also, in the case of the western Canadian Indians, one of their treaties contained a statement stipulating that they would not be required to fight in any of Canada's wars. Chief John Prince, of the St. Peter's band stated:

> When I gave my country to the Great Mother Queen in the year 1871, I was told that time by Governor Archibald and Simpson that our Great Mother Queen should never fight us in her war because I was told that time she wants to look upon us as a child... Archibald and Simpson said our Great Mother Queen she would never enter your Indians in her war because She is strong enough and her soldiers are strong enough... We are going to tell you what we have done to help our King George of England... We up hold collection of treaty money the sum of $51.65 from the St. Peters band of Indians helping our King on his war... Lots of our boys went off from their own accord to the war there is some are killed and wounded and some out there still fighting for the King and Country also there is some are coming back unable to do the work for themself.[144]

Councillor Thomas Menow, from the Norway House Agency, addressed the agent:

> Two years ago, when recruiting first started in this district, we asked the Government for some authority other than the word of the recruiting agent for enlisting the services of our men to fight for the country... When the treaty was made, we were promised the protection of the Government for all time and that we would not be called on to go to war. We do not see the other reserves recruiting and do not understand why we should be singled out...[145]

Chief Keepinais from Swan Lake, Manitoba, also opposed conscription based on his understanding of the treaties:

> according to our treaty agreement with the Government we were not to be compelled to go to war for the Government and we object to having our young men taken away to the war.[146]

Support for the Indian stand against conscription also came from those representing Indian concerns. It was pointed out that Alexander Morris, the former Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, the North-West Territories and Keewatin, who negotiated a number of the western treaties for the Canadian government, had indeed promised exemption from conscription. During the discussions for Treaty 3 in 1873, a chief from Fort Francis said: "If you should get into trouble with the nations, I do not wish to walk out and expose my young men to aid you in any of your wars."[147] Commissioner Morris replied: "The English never call the Indians out of their country to fight their battles."[148] Later, Morris told the Governor General of Canada, the Earl of Dufferin, that when he was also asked at Fort Carlton in 1876 if Indians would be required to fight for Canada:

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[144] NA, RG 10, vol. 6768, file 452-20, pt. 1, letter, Chief John Prince, St. Peters band, to D.C. Scott, November 27, 1917; NA, RG 24, vol. 6566, file HQ1064-30-34, vol. 1, letter, A.L. Baden to Maj.Gen. S.C. Mewburn, Minister of Militia and Defence, November 19, 1917; ibid., letter, E.L. Newcombe, Deputy Minister of Justice, to Secretary, Military Sub-Committee, MSA, November 16, 1917.

[145] Ibid., pt. 2, letter, Norway House Acting Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, January 2, 1918.

[146] Ibid., pt. 1, letter, Chief Meeshe Keepinais to J.D. McLean, July 2, 1917.

[147] Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, 69.

> I assured them, you will never be asked to fight against your will; and I trust the time will never come of war between the Queen and the great country near us... My words, where they are accepted are written down, and they last; as I have said to the others, as long as the sun shines and the river runs.[149]

Surprisingly Duncan Campbell Scott was not aware of these commitments.[150]

As the protests mounted, Indians on various reserves took matters into their own hands and encouraged their members not to report if conscripted. At the Battleford Agency in Saskatchewan, the agent noted that Charles Fineday, Monkey, and Ugly Bear were talking against conscription. These men were accused by officials of continually making trouble with their speeches.[151]

Due to the lack of knowledge of the meaning of the Military Service Act and the nomadic nature of the people, especially in the northern parts of the provinces, many Indians failed to even register. One solution to the problem was suggested by the agent from Deseronto, Ontario, who believed the "best way is to get out a number of posters and put them up in the Reserve explaining to them their duty and what is required of them of the Military Service Act and also the punishment if they do not obey the call."[152] However, to avoid the obvious problem which would be created by taking action against the unregistered Indians, officials decided to extend the time for compliance to February 1, 1918. Scott arranged to notify all Indian agencies of the extension and to instruct agents to

> carry on the work of reporting for service and claiming exemption by such Indians who had failed, through ignorance or otherwise, to respond to the Proclamation in question through the various Registrars under the Act and the various Indian agencies according to military districts.[153]

The success of registration varied depending on how close the contact was between the agent and his wards. On the Sarcee Reserve in Alberta, for example, the agent registered the entire band. He knew that those who were medically fit were required to enlist but he asked for exemptions for everyone, citing tuberculosis as a reason.[154] On the other hand, the agent for the Fisher River Agency in Manitoba notified the Military Service Branch that he would not be able to register the bands until June or July 1918 when the treaty payments were made, owing to the fact that through the winter months these Indians were scattered and communication with them was difficult if not impossible.[155] A. Ogletree, the agent for the Portage la Prairie and Manitowapah agencies in Manitoba, could not complete the registration due to the chief and councillors from the various reserves refusing to allow any of their young men to appear before him. He did register ten men but estimated that ninety-six more were concealed from him.[156]

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[148] Ibid.

[149] NA, RG 10, vol. 6768, file 452-20 pt. 1, letter, Alexander Morris to the Earl of Dufferin, September 7, 1917.

[150] Scott informed the Acting Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence that, "there are no other general grounds that I know of for the relief or exemption of Indians from military service," ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to E.F. Jarvis, Acting Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence, August 22, 1917.

[151] GA, Battleford Indian Agency Papers, 1904-1935, M1781, box 7, file 39.

[152] NA, RG 10, vol. 6768, file 452-20, pt. 1, letter, G.M. Campbell, Deseronto (Ontario) Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, November 13, 1917.

[153] NA, RG 24, vol. 6566, file HQ1064-30-34, vol. 1, letter, E.L. Newcombe, Deputy Minister of Justice, to Secretary, Military Sub-Committee, MSA, November 16, 1917.

[154] NA, RG 10, vol. 6768, file 452-20, pt. 1, letter, William Gordon, Acting Indian agent Sarcee Agency, to D.C. Scott, December 16, 1917.

However, before the next deadline arrived, new regulations came into effect exempting the Indians from the Military Service Act. The Privy Council order of January 17, 1918, stated:

> Whereas petitions and memorials have been received from and on behalf of Indians pointing out that in view of their not having any right to vote, they should, although natural born British subjects, not be compelled to perform military service, and... That in the negotiations of certain treaties, expressions were used indicating that Indians would not be so compelled, an instance of this recently brought forward being the expression of the Lieutenant Governor in negotiating the North West Angle Treaty as it appears in the despatch of the 14th of October, 1873, quoted in Morris, *Treaties of Canada with the Indians*, pp. 50 and 69.
>
> THEREFORE
>
> 18a. Any Indian agent may make application for the exemption of any Indian attached to the Reserve over which such agent has jurisdiction and it shall not be necessary for the Registrar to assign to a local tribunal any application made or transmitted by an Indian agent on behalf of an Indian, but the Registrar shall forthwith issue to such Indian and transmit to the Indian agent for delivery to him a certificate of exemption from combatant military service.[157]

The order in council included provisions that any Indians who had enlisted or been drafted since the passing of the Act could make application for discharge.[158] However, this exemption included only those Indians who made an application for exemption on their own behalf, not one through concerned second parties, such as a chief or a band.[159]

Even though Indians were exempt from military service they still had to comply with other government regulations. This included the Privy Council motion in regards to idleness, and stipulated that

> Every male person residing in the Dominion of Canada shall be regularly engaged in some useful occupation... Any person violating the provisions hereof shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on summary conviction before a Magistrate.[160]

They also were still obliged to respond to National Registration, although the practical problems of contacting Indians in the remote regions resulted in those persons being excluded from it.[161] The military police in Alberta did in fact charge Clefus De Coine (or Decoigne), an Indian from Lake Wabasca, a hundred miles north of Athabasca, with breach of the Military Service Act. De Coine needed a Cree interpreter for the trial and it appeared from the evidence that the accused did not have the faintest idea of what was expected of him regarding registration for military service. In dismissing the case, Magistrate Harrison regarded the action as showing excessive zeal. The military authorities were ordered to return De Coine safely to his home.[162]

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[155] Ibid., letter, Deputy Minister of Justice to D.C. Scott, December 19, 1917.

[156] Ibid., letter, A. Ogletree, Portage la Prairie Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, January 26, 1918.

[157] NA, RG 24, vol. 6566, file HQ1064-30-34, vol. 1, "Privy Council 111," January 17, 1918.

[158] NA, RG 10, vol. 6768, file 452-20, pt. 2, form letter, D.C. Scott to all Indian agents, January 30, 1918; NA, RG 24, vol. 6566, file HQ1064-30-34, vol. 1, letter, D.C. Scott to Captain Tyndall, February 20, 1918.

[159] NA, RG 24, vol. 6566, file HQ1064-30-34, vol. 1, letter, Capt. DAAG, Secretary, Military Service Sub-Committee, to Ex-Chief Cornelius Logan, February 26, 1918.

[160] NA, RG 10, vol. 6771, file 452-27, "Privy Council 815," April 4, 1918; ibid., letter, C.P. Schmidt, Duck Lake Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, August 10, 1918.

With the advantage of hindsight, Scott later supported the exclusion of natives from the Military Service Act, although he had originally believed they should have been included. In his essay on Indian participation in the war, published in 1919, Scott stated:

> When the Military Service Act was put into force in 1917, it was decided to exclude the Indians... This action was taken in view of the fact that the Indians, although natural-born British subjects, were wards of the Government, and, as such, minors in the eyes of the law, and that, as they had not the right to exercise the franchise or other privileges of citizenship, they should not be expected to assume responsibilities equal to those of enfranchised persons. It was also taken into consideration that certain old treaties between the Indians and the Crown stipulated that they should not be called upon for military service. I may, therefore, emphasize that Indian participation in the war was wholly voluntary and not in any degree whatsoever subject to the influence of compulsory measures.[163]

In summary, many young Indians were prepared to enlist but band chiefs and elders resented any attempts to force recruitment, either by pressure from recruiting agents or by conscription. On the prairies, the military traditions were still sufficiently strong that some men saw the war as a chance to win honours for their tribes and themselves. Perhaps they knew little about the politics of World War I, and certainly nothing about trench warfare, but they had the enthusiasm to prove themselves in battle, just as their forefathers had done a few decades earlier.

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[161] Ibid., vol. 6770, file 452-26, pt. 1, letter, G.D. Robertson, Chairman, Canada Registration Board, to D.C. Scott, May 9, 1918; ibid., letter, G.D. Robertson, Chairman, Canada Registration Board, to J.D. McLean, May 27, 1918.

[162] *Edmonton Bulletin*, July 26, 1918.

[163] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 289-90.

THREE

Indian Soldiers

From the onset of World War I, Indians throughout Canada displayed a keen interest in the conflict. In retrospect, it seems amazing that Canadian Indians in the prairie provinces voluntarily enlisted in a war thousands of miles from their homes. These men as a whole knew little of the geographic makeup of the world outside of their immediate reserves. Some natives who enlisted, however, were more knowledgeable thanks to information obtained from Indian travellers and schools. Prior to 1914, western Canadian Indians occasionally travelled away from their home provinces, and a few went as far as Europe. For example, after the Riel Rebellion of 1885, the government rewarded several leading loyal chiefs with a trip on the newly completed Canadian Pacific Railway to eastern Canada. In October 1886, Osoup, Star Blanket, Big Child and Flying in a Circle, from the Crees, Crowfoot and Three Bulls from the Blackfoot, Red Crow and One Spot from the Bloods, and North Axe from the Peigans, were taken on the tour.[1] They travelled as far as Ottawa, Toronto, and Brantford and while en route they saw the extent of the white Canadians' world.[2] Yet even on trips such as this, Indians were prone to interpret what they saw on the basis of their past experiences and therefore came home with distorted views of the world beyond their hunting grounds. In 1892, missionary John Maclean told of a Peigan Indian who had been to Ottawa but his friends would not believe him when he tried to explain what he had seen. Maclean wrote:

> He saw a great many houses standing on the top of each other, and the people were living on the heads of their friends. He then took his paper whenever he wished to go to any of the camps or towns of the white men, and gave it to a man who stood at the door of a house which rested on wheels. When he got inside the door, the house ran over the prairie very quickly... "There are more white men than there are blades of grass upon the prairie." "Stop!" cried the Blood Indian chiefs, who then gazed in astonishment upon the young man, "the white medicine-men have been making strong medicine, and have blinded your eyes that you could not see straight. We do not believe you!"[3]

Another western Canadian Indian provided his unique reaction to the outside world. In 1895, Strong Buffalo, a Peigan Indian, accompanied the Reverend Joshua Hinchcliffe to England. In a letter to Jerry Potts, Strong Buffalo described the places he had visited, using as reference points landmarks that were familiar to him. He mentioned such physical features as the Atlantic Ocean, "the big water as big as from Elk River [Red Deer] in the north to Sheep River in the south."[4] The ship was as long as from the "Mission House to Bear Trail's house."[5] He stated that "if the old Peigan chiefs were to come over the big water they would die with fright. When the big ship rolled they would think they were going over, and they would ask the sun to save them, and then their wives should make a sundance."[6] He described the island of Britain as being "as long as from Elk River [Red Deer] in the north to the Big River [Missouri] in the south."[7] These comments show that Strong Buffalo knew little of the outside world. Even the width of the Atlantic Ocean (4,300 km) hardly compared to his estimate of 250 km.

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[1] Glenbow Archives (GA), M1833, scrapbook of newspaper account of 1886 trip to eastern Canada by prairie Indians; and Hugh Dempsey, *Crowfoot: Chief of the Blackfeet* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 201-6.

[2] Ibid.

[3] John Maclean, *The Indians of Canada: Their Manners and Customs* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892), 78.

A number of Sioux Indians from the Griswold Agency in Manitoba also made a trip overseas prior to World War I. These included a man named Au-Kes-Ha who journeyed to London to lay before the English throne certain grievances concerning his people's claim to lands in Canada, as the result of being allies of Britain. Au-Kes-Ha took with him two medals he had received from the Canadian government, one depicting King Edward and the other Queen Victoria, whom he referred to as "His Mother."[8] Later, when he described to his band where London was located, he simply mentioned that it was "east of Ottawa."[9]

Indian students learned something about world geography at their residential schools. They also followed world events in the classroom and some continued this interest after leaving school. To quote the *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1914*, the "ex-pupils learned to read the daily papers and thus keep in touch with what was taking place throughout the world."[10] From the time they were admitted to residential school at the age of six, students were taught about other lands and, in particular, England's history, as well as Biblical teachings about the Holy Land.[11] Lantern slides, wall maps, and globes added to their knowledge. They were taught that they belonged to the British Empire. And regardless of how abstract all this might have been to students, it did give them an awareness and a broader worldview than those who had never attended school. However, few if any had much knowledge about such matters as German aggression, Allied peace pacts, and the relationship of Britain to members of her commonwealth.

Once the war began, missionaries and agents kept ex-students and others on the reserve informed of the progress of the conflict but Indians did not always understand what was happening. Edward Ahenakew commented:

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[4] *Macleod Gazette*, February 15, 1895.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *Winnipeg Telegram*, July 26, 1910.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1914), 153.

[11] Bernal E. Walker, "The High School Program in Alberta during the Territorial Period, 1889-1905," in David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp (eds.), *Shaping The Schools of the Canadian West* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1979), 217. For example, see Arabella B. Buckley and W.J. Robertson, *High School History of England and Canada* (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company Ltd., 1891), 323.

> The news of the outbreak of the Great War, however, fell with a shock upon us, seeming more terrible to us, perhaps because of our ignorance, than it did to the white people. Their knowledge of geography at least helped them to realize the distance Canada was from immediate danger. The Indians lacked that knowledge. I remember an Indian from a northern reserve telling me that he had heard that the fighting was taking place in Saskatchewan, somewhere east of Battleford; another of the peaceably inclined Indians from the bush fled still farther north to regions unknown. Whether he ever stopped in his flight, I do not know to this day. In time, however, the Indians did understand.[12]

W.M. Graham also noted,

> Many of them were much concerned and fearful lest fighting should take place in Canada and that they, old as they were, might be called upon to bear arms. They were always assured that this was most unlikely.[13]

Graham further believed that the war was beyond the comprehension of the elder Indians. They

> knew their sons were fighting the Germans, but could not make out why they were fighting. They could not read about or understand the causes leading up to the war, in fact, many of the older band members thought the world was made up of one large family. They did not realize it was divided into countries with different Governments, and why the people should be fighting and killing each other was naturally hard for them to understand, especially as they had been told that they should give up their old warlike habits.[14]

Regardless of their level of understanding, Indians still wanted to hear news about the war. On the Roseau Reserve in Manitoba, for example, the agent reported: "after paying the Indians their interest money, the war was brought up, and because the Indians like very much to hear about the war, I told them what little I knew."[15] J.A. Rowland, Indian agent for the Red Pheasant and Sweet Grass reserves in Saskatchewan, mentioned that the Indians under his charge took an immense interest in the war and made diligent inquiries whenever they had the opportunity for news about the "King's soldiers."[16]

Graham made a special effort at the File Hills Colony to keep the Indians informed of the war's progress. The File Hills Colony was a model agricultural colony organized in 1903 and composed of ex-pupils from Indian schools. This community was as an experiment by the Indian Department, with all members of the colony receiving assistance and guidance from the government. It was set up in an attempt to stop the "retrogression" that officials believed occurred when native boys and girls, after graduating, returned to their parents and lost the painfully acquired advances in civilization and Christianization.[17] Graham often made a point of having colony members gather at the agency or farm instructor's house to give them an account of the war proceedings of the previous week. Since twenty-four out of the thirty-eight able-bodied males on the colony had enlisted, their interest went beyond simple curiosity. Graham further noted that during the war it was a common occurrence for men to walk three or four miles daily to get the latest news. Although the old Indians could not read, they showed an intense interest at the meetings, and then carried the news back home.[18]

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[12] Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 119.

[13] William H. Graham (introduction by James Dempsey), *Treaty Days: Reflections of an Indian Commissioner* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1991), 100.

[14] Ibid., 99.

[15] National Archives of Canada (NA), RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 1, letter, Robert Logan, Portage La Prairie Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, December 1914.

[16] *Saskatchewan Herald*, Battleford, July 12, 1917.

[17] E. Brian Titley, "William Morris Graham: Indian Agent Extraordinaire," *Prairie Forum* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 26-27.

Similarly, M. Christianson, Indian agent for the Pelly Agency in Saskatchewan, reported that "since the outbreak of the present great war, the Indians have taken a great interest in its progress, many of them being subscribers to the daily papers. The older people who are unable to read constantly inquire at the agency headquarters as to the progress of the war and a branch of the Red Cross Society has been organized by them recently and they all seem to be anxious to be of as much assistance as possible in this great struggle."[19]

Two factors in particular led the young Indians to enlist, despite, in some cases, their elders' opposition. First, strong ties bound the enlistees' grandparents to England, with whom they had made their treaties. A number of the elders would have encouraged their sons and grandsons to support the British Crown.[20] Harry Ball, a Cree from the Piapot Reserve in Saskatchewan, stated after being wounded that, "of course I was all right after that, but I had to have my leg amputated just below the knee. So you see I am minus one foot now, but I don't grudge the foot. I lost it for my King and Country. I am satisfied that I did my duty."[21] Second, the war no doubt offered the young Indians an escape from the stagnation of reserve life and the confining atmosphere of the residential schools. It presented an opportunity to live the warrior's life,[22] to experience the excitement that their fathers and grandfathers had told them about.[23]

Dissatisfaction with school life and a need for excitement probably best explain why a number of school-aged natives ran away to enlist.[24] Three native pupils at the Red Deer Industrial School, for example, escaped from the school and joined up, even though they were under eighteen years of age.[25] In Alberta, at the Saddle Lake Agency, Frank Makokis, Louis Seenum, and Ned Seenum enlisted in the

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[18] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 99.

[19] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, memorandum, Lt. Maxwell Graham to Lt.-Col. P.G.C. Campbell, December 4, 1916.

[20] Michael L. Tate, "From Scout to Doughboy: The National Debate over Integrating American Indians into the Military, 1891-1918," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (October 1986): 425.

[21] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 108.

[22] Barbara M. Wilson (ed.), *Ontario and the First World War, 1914-1918: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: n.p., 1977).

[23] In an interview with Laurie Plume at his daughter's home on the Blood Reserve, Standoff, Alberta, June 20, 1985, he stated that "Mike Mountain Horse felt like an old time warrior going to war."

[24] Running away from the residential schools was a common practice and not confined to the war years, as noted by J.R. Miller: "The children themselves had effective ways of rejecting the schools. The simplest response was to run away, something hundreds of students did." See J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 23.

[25] NA, RG 24, vol. 1221, file HQ593-1-7, letter, J.F. Woodsworth to Minister of Militia and Defence, December 8, 1916.

187th battalion rather than return to school. After being shipped over to England, the three were discharged on the request of their parents since all were under age.[26]

The case of Moses Lavallee of the File Hills Colony is an interesting one. Moses, at age fifteen, ran away and went to W.M. Graham's office to see if he could join one of the many battalions leaving Canada for overseas. Graham told Moses he was too young, but Moses argued he was capable of doing as much work as many men who enlisted. He also pointed out he was in the school brass band and could become a proficient bugler. After a good deal of persuasion he returned to school, but a short time later he ran away again and the school authorities never caught him. He left the school late at night in midwinter, made for the bush, and once there he felt comparatively safe as he believed no one would search the bluffs for him. Moses remained there for several days before heading north, living off of game he snared. Finally he reached Yorkton where he enlisted in the 218th Battalion on December 5, 1916. He became a bugler and Graham first learned of his whereabouts when he wrote from London, telling of his experiences and saying he was very happy.[27]

Agency records contain other references to pupils who escaped from school to enlist. John Anderson and John Fisher from Gordon's Reserve in Saskatchewan, for instance, enlisted in the 249th Battalion at Regina in November 1916. Both were seventeen and had run away from school. Anderson was transferred to the 29th Battalion and was wounded during the Battle of Amiens in August 1918. Fisher was transferred to the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles and was wounded during action at Cambrai in November 1917. Both ultimately recovered.[28] Another enlistee was a Sioux, James Fred Essie, from the Oak River Reserve, who at the age of sixteen ran away from the Elkhorn Industrial School during the summer holidays to enlist in the 99th Manitoba Rangers. He was attached to the 27th Battalion, saw action overseas, and was wounded in May 1918.[29]

The warrior tradition also led other young men to enlist. Within the Plains tribes, warriors were the keepers of social philosophy and tribal ceremony. Yet, because these tribes had not been involved in a war for a number of years, the young men were not able to obtain a warrior status. At the same time, the number of older men was rapidly declining, thereby leaving a void in the society's social and religious structure. Mike Mountain Horse, a Blood, viewed his own enlistment as a belief in the cause of the Great White Father and to prove that the fighting spirit had not been quelled by reservation life.[30] A specific example can be cited to support Mike Mountain Horse's statement. While Alex Desnomie was in hospital with Ed Sanderson, Ed Swanson and David Bird — all fellow File Hills Indians — he wrote to W.M. Graham and pointed out that, although all were wounded, "they are well and ready to get after Fritz again if they have to."[31]

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[26] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-17, "Return of Indian Enlistments," G.E. Hughes, Saddle Lake Agency, to Department of Indian Affairs, January 2, 1919.

[27] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 97; NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-17, "Return of Indian Enlistments," W.M. Graham, File Hills Colony.

[28] NA, RG 10, vol. 6771, file 452-29, letter, W. Murison, Touchwood Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, February 3, 1919; ibid., letter, W. Murison to J.D. McLean, April 8, 1919.

[29] Ibid., vol. 6767, file 452-15, letter, James McDonald, Griswold Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, February 12, 1919.

[30] Mike Mountain Horse, *My People the Bloods* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1978), 144.

[31] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 108.

Native traditions and religion were so intermixed in daily life as to be inseparable. A strong belief in the power and meaning of native religion still existed among many Indians in 1914, despite the attempts at conversion made by the various missionaries in their schools and on the reserves. Several examples can be cited: in 1916 Mike Foxhead (or Many Bears) from the Blackfoot Reserve, was a student at the Dunbow Residential School, near Calgary. On his way to the city during the summer break, he met a white friend who persuaded him to enlist with him in the 191st Battalion. Two Bloods, George Strangling Wolf and Joe Mountain Horse also joined at the same time. They vowed to join the sacred Horn Society if they returned home safely, and this they believed gave them supernatural protection. Mike Foxhead made no such vow. One night in the trenches Mike lit a match for a cigarette and was hit by a sniper's bullet. People from his reserve attributed his death to his failure to seek spiritual protection.[32] Another example of a belief in the supernatural comes from Mike Mountain Horse, who pointed out after the war that he and his fellow Indian soldier-comrades sought the aid of native war medicines when preparing for battles or when facing other dangers in Europe.[33] And during the Battle of Amiens, Mountain Horse celebrated the capture of a German battery by painting Blackfoot victory signs on the gun.[34]

Another aspect of native religion which manifested itself in wartime was the belief in the power of dreams. Visions led some Indians to enlist. This is evident in the case of a Canadian Sioux who had a dream which instructed him to go overseas. This man

> had belonged to a volunteer regiment; after hearing that Canadian troops might be called upon to enlist for service in England's struggle against Germany, [he] dreamed that his regiment was called upon to assemble in the armoury. They were told that of about 500 men present 50 would be chosen for service. He stated, "I stood back in one corner trying to get out of sight. The roll was called but I did not answer to my name. Later they found me there and said I would have to serve as one of the 50 because I had failed to answer to my name. I felt badly about this. As I went out I saw my father and my uncle who asked me if I had to go. I told them I had, because I had failed to answer to my name when the roll was called. As I was about to walk away with them, I awoke."[35]

Very few Indian enlistees left written records, although some letters do exist. Those that are available provide additional reasons for native enlistment. In Mike Foxhead's case, his personal reason was probably typical when he said he wanted to make people proud of his reserve.[36] After enlisting, he resisted the efforts of his Blackfoot elders to have him discharged. He realized that the Blackfoot were exempt by treaty, yet, as he wrote back from England to rancher E.D. Hardwick,

> I am over here at present training to go on over to France when I am fit enough, which I know will be any time now... I am the only one here of the bunch you had at your house one night last winter. You know James

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[32] Interview with Jim Many Bears, Mike's nephew, at his house on October 18, 1985. He was also in possession of Mike's medals.

[33] Mountain Horse, *My People the Bloods*, 74-75.

[34] "Great War" Deeds of Corporal Mike Mountain Horse (undated manuscript in Medicine Hat Museum).

[35] William D. Wallis, "Beliefs and Tales of Canadian Dakota," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 36, no. 139 (January-March 1923): 54.

[36] Letter, Mike Foxhead to E.D. Hardwick in *Gleichen Call*, August 16, 1917.

> Only Chief, the interpreter... I am sorry to say that he is in the States. I believe he had cold feet, but I don't blame him. I'll stick to it until the end to put up a name for the Reserve, so they can say that they have one of their boys over here. I could have got out of it when the other boys got their discharge only I wanted to do my bit like all other Canadians. I knew that somebody had to go and fight for the Empire, and I made up my mind that I would go because it would be my duty sooner or later.[37]

Daniel Pelletier from the Keeseekoose Reserve in Saskatchewan initially decided to enlist after receiving a letter from his brother, who was overseas, asking him to join. Pelletier also concurred with others who said that many joined for patriotic reasons, although he believed Indians in general "had little to fight for."[38] However, he thought the dominant reason was "the idea of something new, something strange. You could see different places and different people... they wanted adventure and a chance to see other countries, after all, we had nothing here."[39]

On the other hand, the idea of joining the nursing corps or other units apparently did not occur to native women. In their traditional roles, warfare was the prerogative of men and if women ever did fight, it was only to protect their camps during an attack. If they went with their husbands on a raid, they seldom took part in the actual battle, but cooked and mended clothing while on the trail. During the war, Indian women made their contribution by working at home and looking after the farms while their husbands were away. According to Graham,

> I remember going to many homes where the young women were engaged in making bandages and knitting socks, of which hundreds of pairs were sent from the reserves to the men overseas. On some reserves Red Cross Societies were formed and did splendid work, not only in the matter of making garments, but also in contributing funds.[40]

Meanwhile, at training camp Indian recruits were considered to be potentially good soldiers. According to many reports from officers who had Indians in their battalion, they were easily disciplined, gave very little trouble to their superior officers, and were always anxious to do their share of the fighting. As a rule they were excellent shots and most of those in infantry battalions who enlisted from the prairies were sent to the front.[41] They got along well with their comrades and after a short time little if any distinctions existed between the Indian and the white soldiers. They entered into sports and pastimes of one kind or another, and took furloughs together. Upon returning home many Indians became members of veteran organizations.[42] They also took an interest in their status as Canadian citizens and worked to improve it.

Indians often displayed exceptional keenness and initiative in their desire to become efficient and well-drilled soldiers. Duncan Campbell Scott later told a story which reveals their zeal. On one occasion during battalion training, the men were taking a rest after several hours of hard drill. When the colonel observed that none of his Indian recruits were about, he investigated and discovered that they had retired to the woods where they kept drilling by themselves.[43] Scott also later related the situation of an unidentified Indian soldier who had a bad training record. This meant he would be left behind with those considered unsuitable for overseas service. However, when the train departed for the east coast he hid on board and his presence was not discovered until their arrival at St. John, New Brunswick. His persistence continued when he pleaded so earnestly to the colonel that the officer finally assented to his request. Once overseas, this man proved himself on the battlefield and had an excellent record. He was wounded twice, and subsequently taken prisoner. After spending several months in a prison camp, Scott said he managed to escape and successfully made his way through Germany back to his own lines. This was considered extraordinary as it was supposed that an Indian would be a marked man and that it would be almost impossible for him to escape detection.[44]

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Donna Pinay, "Daniel Pelletier: A Veteran of the Two World Wars," *New Breed* (June 1978): 4.

[39] Ibid., 3-4.

[40] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 100-101.

[41] Ibid., 100; Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1985), 21.

[42] Ibid.

Although for the most part native enlistees received equal treatment by the military, a few problems arose which were unique to them. At times military discipline proved hard to accept since many had been brought up in a culture that favoured individualism in warriors. For example, George Strangling Wolf, a Blood, once presented himself during inspection wearing elk teeth earrings, necklace, and a red handkerchief around his neck. He had also cut off the front of his cap.[45]

Most Indian reminiscences concerning army life, however, were positive, as Laurie Plume and Daniel Pelletier both confirm. Plume later noted: "The army treated us all right. The meals were good and I was working outside... It was pretty good in the army."[46] Pelletier stated: "there was no discrimination 'over there' and we were treated good... but not when we came back."[47] Yet, not all Indian recruits were entirely happy with army training. One such was Henry George Shorting from the Fairford Reserve in Manitoba, who enlisted with the 212th Battalion in July 1916. He wrote to J.D. McLean seeking to obtain his discharge. Shorting complained:

> they promised me to use me as a soldier under the name of the King George and now they have turned down all the promises... and again they don't want to let me go and see my wife and children... I want the Department of Indian Affairs to put me out of the Army, for I am not used fairly and... again I am not fit to be in army on account of lame back... I telling your's [*sic*] all truth nothing but truth in the name of God.[48]

Shorting had probably found out at training camp that army life was not what he expected and therefore decided he wanted out. Due to regulations, however, he could not leave.

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[43] Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," in *Canada in the Great War: Vol. III, Guarding the Channel Ports* (Toronto: Untitled Publishing of Canada, Ltd., 1919), 295-96.

[44] Ibid., 291-92.

[45] Mountain Horse, *My People the Bloods*, 141.

[46] Interview, Laurie Plume, June 20, 1985.

[47] Pinay, "Daniel Pelletier," 4.

[48] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, pt. 1, letter, Henry George Shorting to J.D. McLean, August 21, 1916.

The army did release another Indian during the training period. He was a Blood named Bumble Bee who could speak only a little English and was discharged when he refused to allow his braids to be cut off.[49] For the Plains Indians, their hair symbolized male supremacy.[50]

Overseas the Indian soldiers gave an excellent account of themselves. Their officers reported enthusiastically on their qualities of courage, discipline, and intelligence. For example, Indians of the 107th Pioneer Battalion (the construction and logging battalion commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Glen Campbell) proved themselves on more than one occasion. The battalion was raised in December 1915 and at first was intended to be primarily an Indian unit. It was found, however, that there were insufficient Indian recruits to make up the quota so non-Indian reinforcements were included. After arriving in England the unit was converted to a pioneer battalion on February 1, 1917, and saw action in France and Belgium.[51] At the battle for Hill 70, near Lens, they were assigned the perilous undertaking of digging communication trenches between the Canadian and German front lines. This work was commenced during an Allied offensive, and therefore the casualties were heavy. Despite the fact that shells were falling on every side, the native soldiers continued their work amid the roar and wreckage of battle with little apparent concern.[52] During this engagement Andrew Anderson, a Cree from the Touchwood Agency in Saskatchewan, won the Military Medal for gallantry under fire.

Western Canadian Indians performed particularly well as snipers at the front, some of them achieving remarkable records.[53] John Ballendine (or Ballantyne), a Cree from Battleford, fought with the 8th Battalion (Winnipeg Rifles) and accumulated fifty kills.[54] During the fighting at Givenchy in June 1915, he and three other snipers agreed to record their "kills" from that time forward on the stocks of their rifles. Ballendine was the only surviving member of the group; he was described as being tall and loosely built with swarthy cheeks, black eyes, and straight black hair. He had learned to handle a rifle at the age of ten, and had been shooting ever since. At the time of the agreement he had thirty-six notches on the butt of his rifle. Each notch stood for a dead German, with a notch cut longer and deeper for an officer. The weapons used by these four snipers were Canadian-built Ross rifles. (The infantrymen later adopted Lee-Enfields but the snipers retained their remodelled Ross rifles, each mounted with a telescopic sight.) The snipers did their work by day because the telescopic sight was not good for shooting in a poor light.[55] Ballendine's record as a sniper was cut short when, during a football game behind the lines, he seriously injured his knee, forcing him to return home.[56]

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[49] Mountain Horse, *My People the Bloods*, 141-42.

[50] Roberta J. Forsberg, *Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton* (Whittier, CA: n.p., 1964), 32.

[51] Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers*, 23-24.

[52] NA, RG 10, vol. 3181, file 452, 124-1A, "Indians Prove Great Fighters," undated newspaper article; Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 314.

[53] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 311; Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers*, 28.

[54] Max Aitken, *Canada in Flanders* (London: Hadden and Stoughton, 1916), 177.

[55] Ibid., 177-78; Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree*, 121; Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 312.

[56] NA, RG 10, vol. 3181, file 452,124-IA, "Red Man Makes Good In M.R.C. Trade School."

Snipers contributed greatly to demoralizing the Germans, and the officers usually gave them a free hand to carry on their work. They originated unique modes of camouflage such as using sand bags to construct a position of concealment where they would remain for hours at a time, awaiting the appearance of the enemy. Even when a German appeared, the Indian sniper would not shoot too soon, but would wait until the enemy would, from over-confidence, show a little more of his body.[57]

These attributes of a good sniper were probably best exemplified by Henry (Ducky) Norwest, an Indian from the vicinity of Edmonton, who fought with the 50th Battalion. Being from the woodland area of central Alberta, Norwest probably from his childhood had learned his marksmanship and developed patience as a hunter. Born on May 1, 1884, at Fort Saskatchewan, he enlisted at the age of thirty-one on September 8, 1915, at Calgary. Prior to joining up, he worked as a cowpuncher and was a former employee of the Royal North-West Mounted Police.[58] During his time overseas he became very proficient as a sniper, obtaining the Military Medal with Bar for gallantry.[59]

Norwest became the greatest sniper among the Canadian Indians, and possibly the best in the entire British Army. He was officially credited with 115 observed hits, the highest figure recorded in the annals of the British Army at that time.[60] According to German prisoners of war, his reputation was known, and they feared him.[61]

On account of his fame as a sniper, we have a full description of the man, which is rare, for with many of the other Indian soldiers only their names and regimental numbers are recorded. Norwest was noted as being reserved rather than effusive, although he mixed naturally and easily with the other Canadian troops at the front. The Cree soldier, a rather short but powerfully built man with a pleasant face and a clear and remarkably steady eye, had a calmness of manner which never left him for a moment, either in a dangerous emergency, or in conversation with officers of the highest rank. Although his record stands at 115, Norwest only claimed a hit when his observer was present and confirmed it. An expert at camouflage, he would wait for days for a man, and never fired unless his position was absolutely secure from enemy observation. His patience and perseverance were said to have been almost superhuman. With his special rifle fitted with a telescopic sight he spent much of his time in No Man's Land. Frequently in the darkest hours of the night he actually penetrated the enemy lines, where he waited and watched, finally making his kill at early dawn, and then returned safely to his own lines.[62]

Just prior to the last drive at Amiens that preceded the signing of the Armistice, Norwest was sent to a safe zone behind the lines. At his request, however, he went forward with the attack where he rendered invaluable service by killing enemy snipers and putting machine-gun posts out of action. Less than three months before the end of the war, his luck gave out. On August 18, 1918, a German shot him through the head while he tried to locate a nest of enemy snipers that had been harassing the advance posts of the Canadian front-line companies. On his gravestone his comrades inscribed: "It must have been a damned good sniper that got Norwest."[63]

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[57] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 311-12.

[58] National Archives of Canada, National Personnel Records Centre.

[59] National Archives of Canada, government personnel file on Henry Norwest.

[60] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 285-328.

[61] Victor W. Wheeler, *The 50th Battalion in No Man's Land* (Calgary: Alberta Historical Resources Foundation, 1980), 117, 289, 322.

[62] *Calgary Herald*, October 30, 1918.

Besides attaining distinction for their marksmanship, a number of native soldiers obtained decorations for their actions on the battlefield, such as Alexander Brass, a Cree from the Peepeekesis band, and a member of the File Hills Colony in Saskatchewan. Prior to enlisting, Brass had graduated from the Elkhorn Industrial School in Manitoba and had begun farming on the Pelly Reserve. The young Indian farmer came to the attention of W.M. Graham who advised him to move to the File Hills Colony where he settled and prospered at farming, eventually becoming Graham's Cree interpreter and the leader of the colony's brass band. Brass and the entire band had enlisted in the 68th Battalion on January 12, 1916. After training, the thirty-six-year-old farmer was drafted into the 5th Battalion and fought in France. While scouting for this unit he was wounded but recovered. On reporting back he was attached to the 10th Railway Troop — which worked in some of the most arduous conditions of the war — and was discharged on March 23, 1919.[64]

Alexander Brass won the Military Medal for his actions in late 1917. He described in a letter the events that led to the decoration:

> A month ago we had the time of our life and gave Fritze perfect hell, the heaviest barrage I've ever gone under, and it was so foggy that you could not see any one six yards away. My duty then was guard and escorting the major, also exploring a bit ahead here and there while the rest came on with the line, right behind the infantry. Everything worked just like a clock. I was surprised the other day when I met my platoon officer, Mr Dunlop, congratulating me and informed me then of my being awarded the Military Medal over the last do. I could only say thanks, then, very grateful to know that my small efforts had been noticed and later on the captain and others came and told me I deserved it. I feel so thankful to them for always being so good to me.[65]

The first Saskatchewan Indian to win the Military Medal was Joe Thunder of the 50th Battalion, who was presented with the award on February 13, 1917. The decoration came for his actions during an engagement with the enemy. He had become separated from his platoon and was surrounded by six Germans who, in the ensuing melee, he bayonetted. Later, on March 31, 1918, Thunder was severely wounded but recovered and made a "good luck" scarf pin from a bone that was taken from his leg as a result of his wound.[66]

Although the personal history of only a small number of the Indian soldiers can be traced, the records of the Mountain Horse brothers from the Blood Reserve are quite complete. Roberta Forsberg, the biographer of the Reverend S.H. Middleton, the Anglican missionary on the Blood Reserve, collected a considerable amount of information on Albert Mountain Horse (or Flying Star) in the 1950s. In her study, Dr. Forsberg related the circumstances of the boy's birth, as told by his mother, Sikski:

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[63] Ibid.

[64] NA, RG 10, vol. 7524, file 25,111-2, pt. 1, Indian Soldier Settlement Form, Alexander Brass, no date.

[65] *Edmonton Journal*, February 27, 1917.

[66] NA, RG 10, vol. 3181, file 452,124-IA, "Joe Thunder is First Indian to Get Medal," undated clipping; Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 308.

> One morning at sunrise the medicine woman had announced Flying Star's birth... According to tribal custom, the Indian mid-wife went out after the infant's first howl to proclaim the birth and to announce his name, which she had bestowed upon him. Many shooting stars were visible that night, and to Sikski they seemed a magic portent...
>
> The mother received her many friends come to see her new baby and to extend their good wishes. Sikski listened proudly to the congratulations — "He is a pretty boy." "He has a strong body." "He will grow up to be a wise man." "He will become a great chief." "He will always be strong." The medicine woman stood in dignified silence. She was not surprised by the baby for she knew her medicine was strong. And the stars lighting the sky foretold that this boy would be a great man. After the guests had gone, Sikski told the medicine woman she had pledged her son to the Above-Person. He now belonged to two spheres, heaven and earth.[67]

As he grew older Albert learned about the Blood secret societies, which incorporated every member from infancy to maturity, and he was soon initiated into one of these groups. He learned much about the old ways as his mother, Sikski, belonged to the Holy Women's Society, and his father to the powerful Horn Society.[68] Albert's father also supported the Reverend Middleton and his mission school. Two of Albert's brothers, Joe and Mike, had graduated and were doing well in the outside world. His mother, however, had not forgotten the spiritual experience of the shower of stars that fell at Albert's birth and she had taken care to teach him the traditional religion of the tribe. Sikski felt her son had a spiritual mission in life and had disapproved of sending him away to the Christian school.[69]

When war was declared, Albert was an officer of the cadet corps and in Calgary taking an instructor's course. During the first week of the war he enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force and was one of the first Indian enlistees in Canada. In a letter to the Reverend Middleton he stated that he was "going forth to fight for my King and Country."[70]

The letters Albert wrote while in the army convey a feeling of optimism and enthusiasm. One which later was reprinted in the *Macleod Spectator* relates:

> We left Quebec on Sept. 29 [1914], and were guarded by 15 battleships. It took 32 ships to take us over. We had a German spy on board but he was arrested and shot two days after we arrived at Plymouth. I was sea-sick for four days but after that was all right. Lord Roberts came to see the Canadian soldiers yesterday and he is quite a soldier. We are doing some pretty good training and I do not think the Germans will stand any chance when we get over there. It has been raining here for five days and I am very anxious to get to the war.[71]

Overseas, Albert saw considerable action. He survived heavy fighting in April

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[67] Forsberg, *Chief Mountain*, 32.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid., 36.

[71] *Macleod Spectator*, November 19, 1914.

1915 at the Second Battle of Ypres in which chlorine gas was used.[72] The gas was especially distressing for Albert and he made specific mention of it in one of his letters:

> I am getting on great these days: all our boys are in the trenches now and doing good work. When going to the trenches I met a pal of mine who enlisted in the 14th Btn., and he was pretty badly wounded in the chest and right side. I took him to the field ambulance, and he is to be sent to the hospital. As I am writing this letter the shrapnel is bursting over our heads. I was in the thick of the fighting at Ypres and we had to get out of it. The Germans were using the poisonous gas on our men — oh it was awful — it is worse than anything I know of. I don't mind rifle fire and the shells bursting around us, but this gas is the limit. I have a German helmet I want to give you, but I can't get it passed through the censor. My, it's a good one. I took it from a Prussian Guard. I gave him the steel through the mouth and then took his helmet.[73]

Albert came through the battle without serious injury, but on two subsequent occasions he was gassed and had to be hospitalized. Believing him convalescent, the army sent him back to Canada and there was joy among the Bloods when the Reverend Middleton announced he was being sent home. But the soldier's lungs had been so weakened from inhaling the gas that tuberculosis set in and he died on November 19, 1915, only one day after landing at Quebec.[74] He was twenty-two years old.

The news of his death was totally unexpected as the Bloods had learned only that his health had greatly improved, and he was on his way back. His sudden death caused great resentment among his friends and family who felt that his life might have been saved if he had been sent home earlier.[75] The grieving mother, Sikski, physically attacked the Reverend Middleton with a knife, blaming him for Albert's enlistment. If one of her sons had not intervened she might have succeeded in killing him.[76] For weeks, Sikski came to Middleton's house seeking vengeance.[77] Her anger subsided only after she understood that Albert himself had chosen to go to war, and that he had been prepared to die as a warrior. As Albert had written in one of his earlier letters,

> I haven't been up to the trenches for a long time now, the doctor said he was going to send me to the hospital. I told him I would sooner die like a man in the trenches than have a grave dug for me.[78]

Archdeacon J.W. Tims, who had first come out to minister to the Blackfoot in 1883, conducted the war hero's funeral. Many Bloods followed the procession on horseback while a number of older men sang their war chants as the coffin approached.[79] The Reverend Middleton told the congregation that Mountain Horse was

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[72] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, December 26, 1918; Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 310.

[73] Letter, Albert Mountain Horse, in *Calgary Herald*, October 23, 1915.

[74] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, December 26, 1918; Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 310; *Kainai News*, November 20, 1974.

[75] *Macleod Spectator*, November 25, 1915; NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, pt. 1, letter, D.C. Scott to The Secretary, Militia Council, September 5, 1917.

[76] Forsberg, *Chief Mountain*, 42.

[77] Ibid., 44.

[78] *Macleod Spectator*, December 2, 1915.

> One of the Empire's greatest sons who fought to uphold the prestige and traditions of the British race, and having gained all the honours and respect which can be shown to a soldier and a man, has cast a brilliant reflection on the Blood Indians of Alberta, proving to the world at large he was truly an Indian warrior.[80]

Albert's older brothers Joe and Mike now enlisted, no doubt with the motive of avenging Albert's death. Joe was formerly an interpreter at the Blood Agency and a graduate of the Calgary Industrial School.[81] He joined up in early 1916 at the age of twenty-nine and went overseas in June.[82] While in France he was wounded in the autumn of 1916 at the first Arras engagement. Upon recovery he returned to the front line and was wounded again near the Passchendaele Ridge. After recovering, Joe returned once more to the front and was hit in the last drive before Cambrai, leading to another period of hospitalization in England.[83]

When the Reverend Middleton learned of the wounds suffered by Joe, he attempted to have him and his brother, Mike, discharged. In a letter to Scott, Middleton stated, "we received word last week that Joe Mountain Horse had been wounded. This makes both Joe and Mike their second casualty. Would it be at all possible to have them invalided home as soon as possible for I would not like a repetition of the Albert Mountain Horse affair.[84] Scott replied:

> the Militia Department in Ottawa has no control over the overseas forces. If we were to ask for any special favour in the case of these two boys it would have to be referred to the authorities in England. The Department has received similar requests from all parts of the country, and with one or two exceptions, we have had to refuse to take action. I am sure you will appreciate our attitude when you consider that some 4,000 Indians have enlisted for overseas service.[85]

Albert's other brother Mike joined up at the age of twenty-six in May 1916. Prior to enlisting he had been a police scout and interpreter for the Royal North-West Mounted Police in Macleod.[86] He went overseas with the 50th Battalion and while in France he experienced shell shock in October 1917 at Cambrai, but recovered and returned to duty. At the second Cambrai engagement he was again wounded and sent to an English hospital.[87] While there he wrote a letter which was later published in the *Macleod News*:

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[79] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15 pt. 1, letter, D.C. Scott to The Secretary, Militia Council, September 5, 1917.

[80] *Macleod Spectator*, December 2, 1915; Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 310.

[81] Ibid., November 25, 1915; NA, RG 10, vol. 6773, file 452-52, Return of Indian Enlistments, Blood Agency.

[82] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, December 26, 1918.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., pt. 1, letter, Rev. S.H Middleton to D.C. Scott, September 3, 1918.

[85] Ibid., letter, J.D. McLean to Rev. S.H. Middleton, September 17, 1918.

[86] *Macleod Spectator*, November 25, 1915; NA, RG 10, vol. 6773, file 452-15, Return of Indian Enlistments Form, Blood Agency.

[87] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, December 26, 1918.

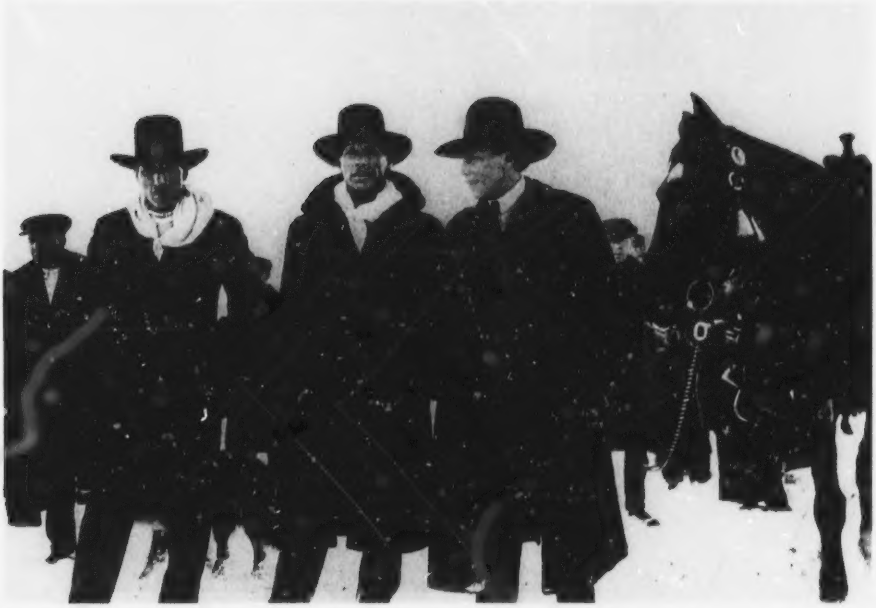
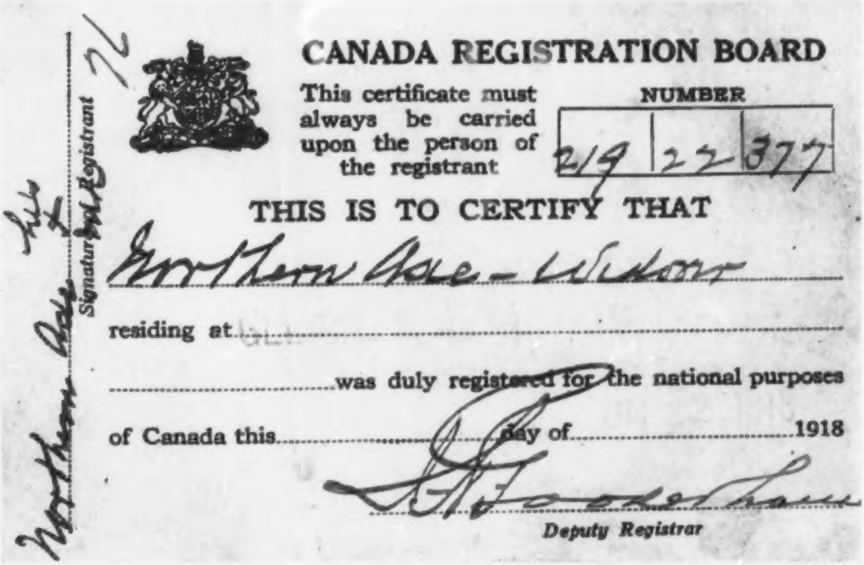


Fig. 1. Ex-pupils of St. Paul's Residential School on the Blood Reserve are seen attending the funeral of Lieutenant Albert Mountain Horse in November 1915. Left to right: Calling High, Herbert Bull Calf, Jim White Bull. The latter enlisted in the 191st Battalion in the following spring.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, NA-769-8



7L

CANADA REGISTRATION BOARD

This certificate must always be carried upon the person of the registrant

NUMBER

219 | 22 | 377

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT

Northern Axe - Widow

residing at

was duly registered for the national purposes of Canada this ... day of ... 1918

J.H. Gooderham

Deputy Registrar

Northern Axe his x

Signature of Registrant

Fig. 2. Copy of the national registration card issued to North Axe, a Blackfoot Indian, in 1918. The local Indian agent, J.H. Gooderham, was the deputy registrar.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, NA-1713-13

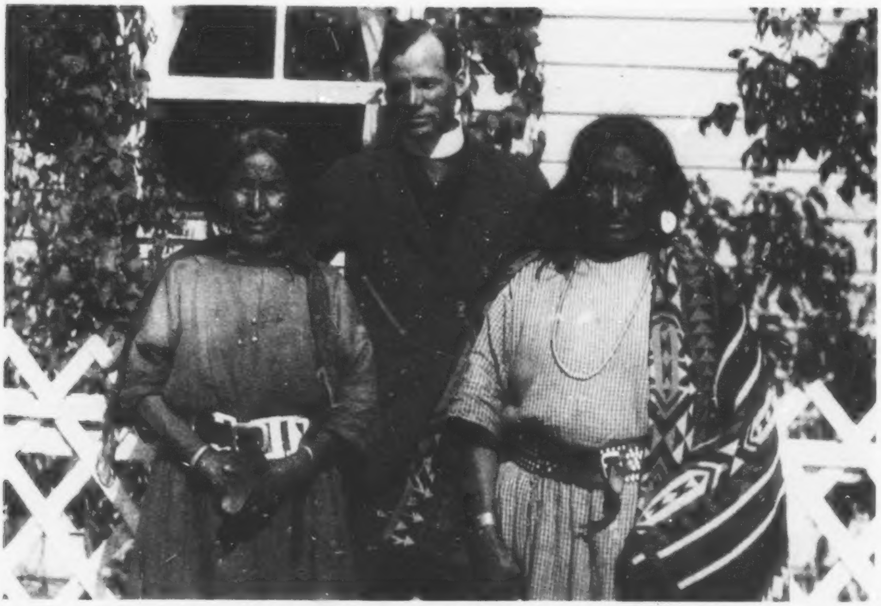


Fig. 3. Archdeacon S.H. Middleton in 1918 with Sikski (right), the mother of Lieutenant Albert Mountain Horse. Sikski threatened to kill Middleton after her son died on his way home from the war.

Photo in author's collection

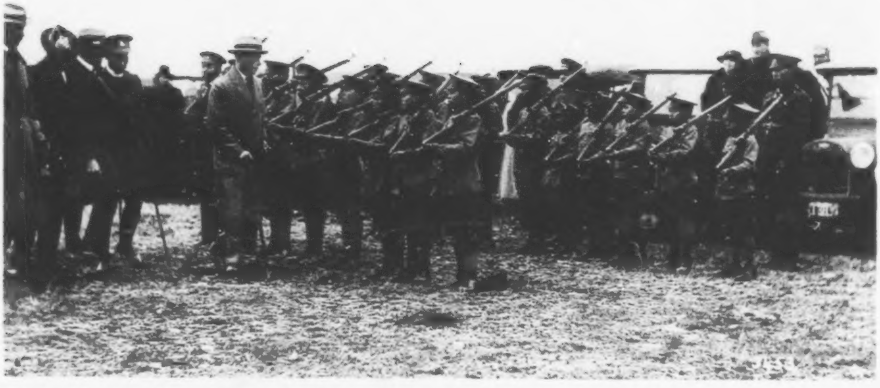


Fig. 4. Cadets from St. Paul's Residential School on the Blood Reserve are inspected by Edward, Prince of Wales during his visit to Canada in October 1920.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, NA-1811-46

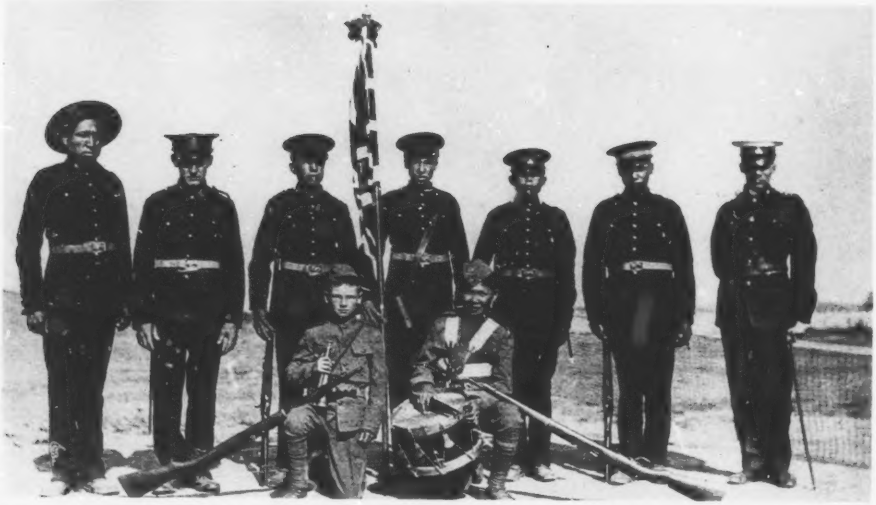


Fig. 5. Officers of the St. Paul's Residential School cadets on the Blood Reserve shortly before the outbreak of World War I. Left to right: Albert Mountain Horse, Eddie West (teacher), George Bad Arm, Pete Small Eyes, Sam Creighton, Tom Prairie Chicken, and Archdeacon S.H. Middleton. In front are an unidentified student and Louis Owl Boy.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, NA-4611-41

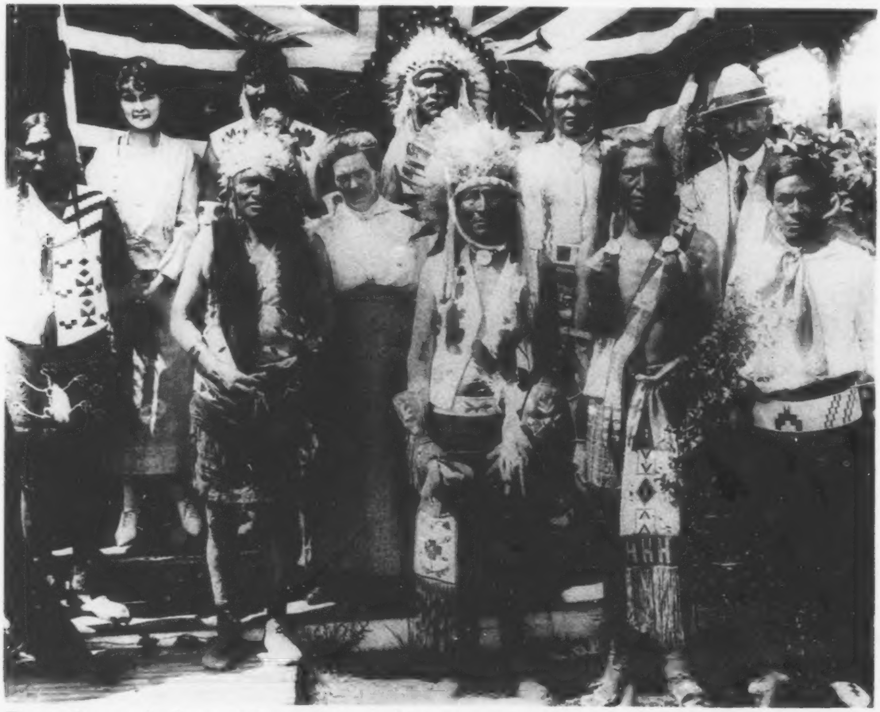


Fig. 6. Stoney Indians with ranchers and friends gathered west of Calgary to celebrate the end of the war in November 1918. Left to right: Willie Baines, Peter Ear, Bessie Hanna, Peter Bearspaw (front), Paul Amos, Mrs. H. Baines, Paul Daniels (back), Chief David Bearspaw, Red Cloud, Enos Hunter, Phil Weinard, and Moses Wesley.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, NA-1395-1

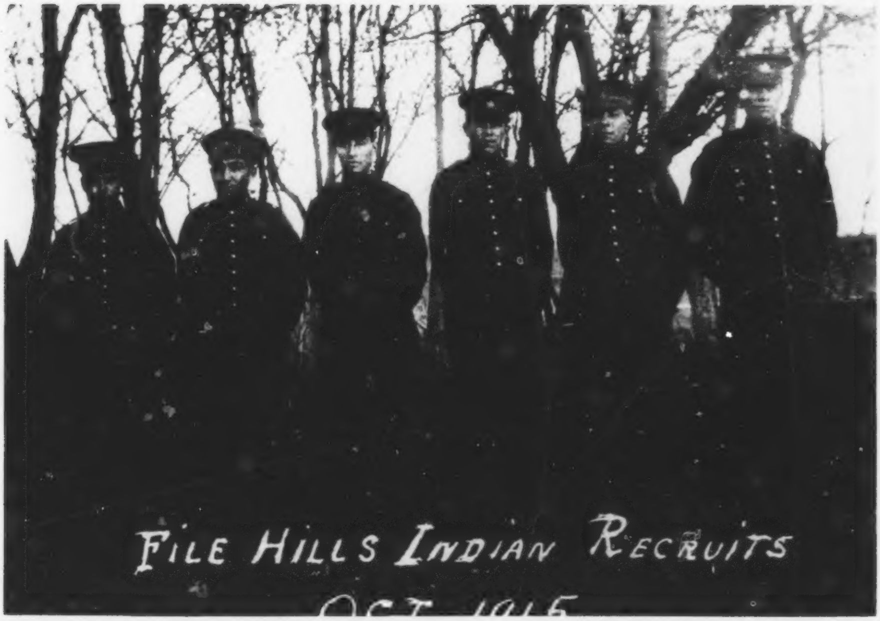


Fig. 7. Recruits from the File Hills Reserve in Saskatchewan in October 1915, before going overseas. Left to right: David Bird, Joe McKay, Leonard Creely, John Walker, Edwin Nokusis and Harry Stonechild. Bird and Creely were gassed, while McKay, Walker and Nokusis were wounded.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, NA-3454-41

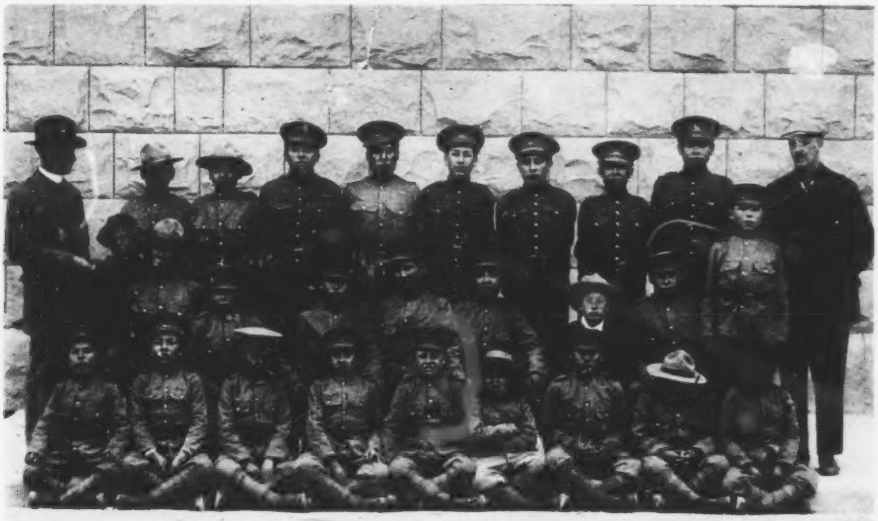


Fig. 8. A group of military cadets at St. Paul's Residential School shortly after World War I. Archdeacon Middleton is standing at left.

Photo in author's collection

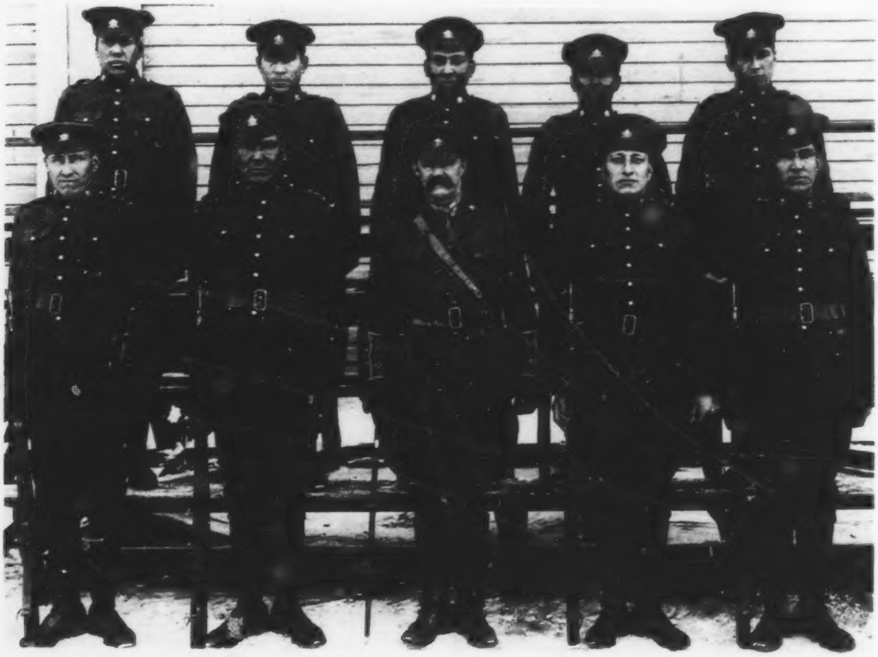


Fig. 9. Blood Indian recruits with their sergeant major at Fort Macleod in 1916. Left to right (front): Nick King, Harold Chief Moon, Lieutenant Colonel W.C. Bryan, Joe Mountain Horse, and Mike Mountain Horse; (back): George Coming Singer, Joe Crow Chief, David Mills, George Strangling Wolf, and an unknown recruit.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, NA-3454-41

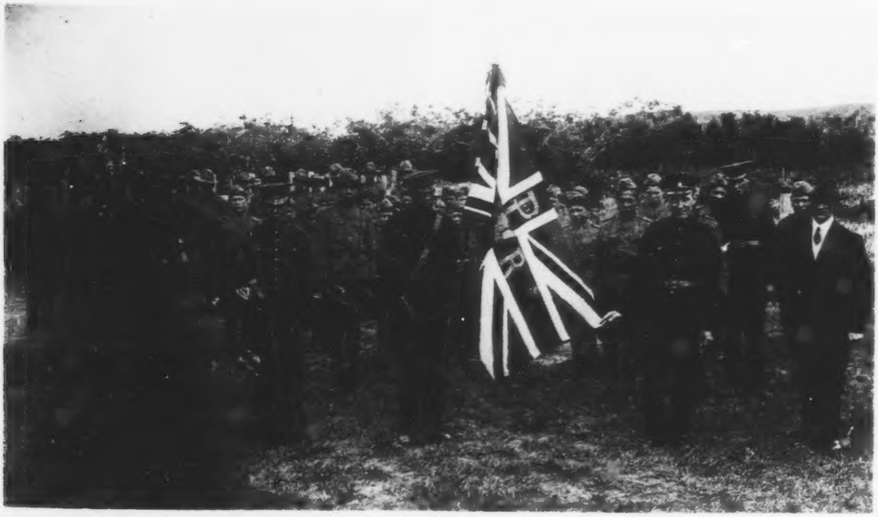


Fig. 10. Cadets from St. Paul's Residential School on the Blood Reserve are seen here visiting the Anglican mission on the Peigan Reserve about 1916.

Photo in author's collection

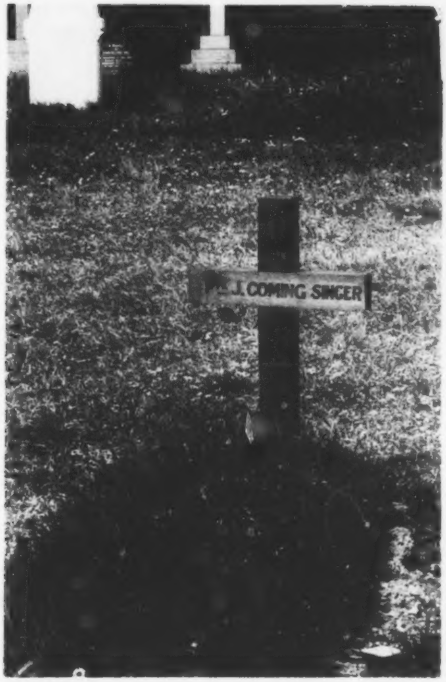


Fig. 11. Grave in England of Blood Indian George Coming Singer, who died of wounds on January 14, 1919.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, PA-1086-38

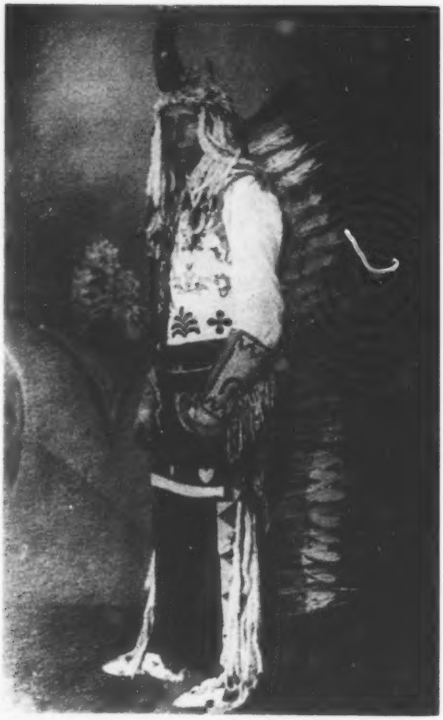


Fig. 12. Upon his return from the war, Blood Indian Nick King wore a native costume for a victory dance held on his reserve.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, NC-10-47

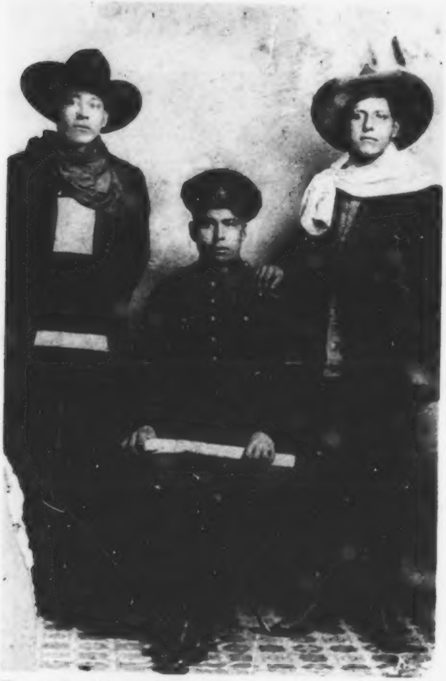


Fig. 13. Mike Foxhead, a member of the Blackfoot tribe, was killed in France by a sniper's bullet in October 1917. He is seen here with two friends, Young Sorrel Horse and Riding Grey Horses, before going overseas.

Photo in author's collection

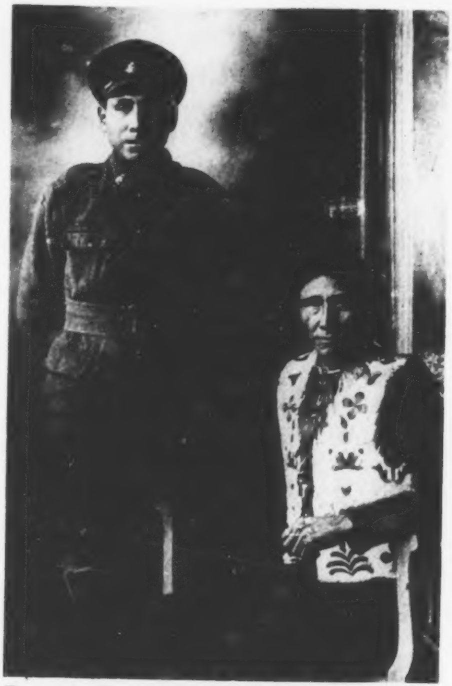


Fig. 14. Two Blood Indian brothers who served overseas posed for a studio portrait after their return. Joe Crow Chief (in uniform) and Nick King were in the 191st Battallion and both were wounded.

Courtesy Glenbow Archives, NC-10-48

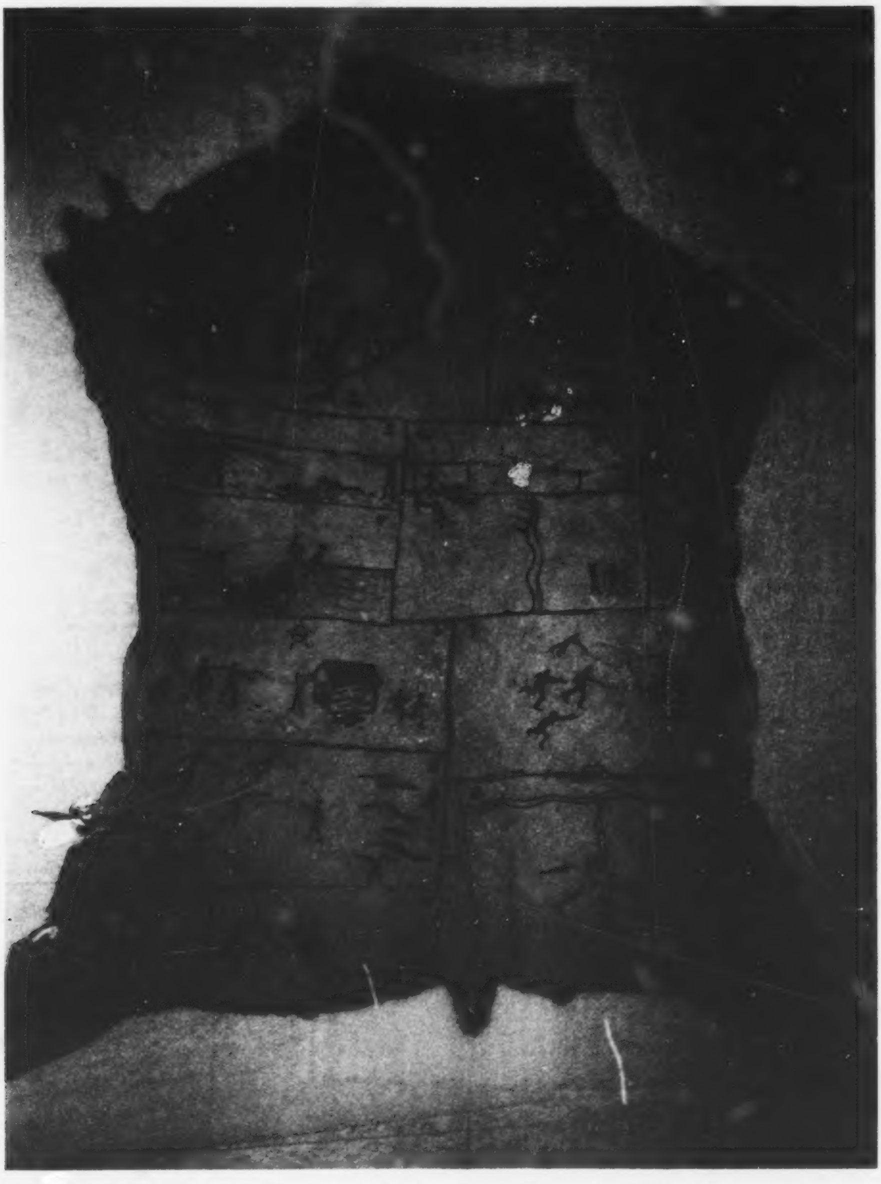


Fig. 15. Cowhide robe decorated by Mike Mountain Horse (see page 57).

Photo in author's collection

> I am now in an English hospital for wounded Colonial soldiers; all we have to do is to get well, and at the present time I am getting along fine, although they've told me that I've got to stay for another two months before I am again fit for active service. I hate the idea of staying here doing nothing, and offered to go with the first draft leaving for the trenches. The officer in command said he admired my pluck, but he could not take me, so I am doomed to stay in this place for some time. We all had to behave like men in France, and I think we did so, although well knowing the nature of the men facing us. I got a slight scratch from a Prussian Guard during an engagement in No Man's Land; the fellow caught me with his bayonet, on the outside of my arm, but I proved superior to him, although he made it hot for me for a time.[88]

In 1919, Mike returned to the Blood Reserve after his discharge and, following the customs of his tribe, he later recorded his experiences by painting them on a cowhide. Using traditional symbols, he related twelve war honours. These also were written down by his friend, Ambrose Two Chiefs, as follows:

> August 9th, 1917 - While on patrol duty, Corporal Mountain Horse fought a hand to hand fight with three Germans, killing two of them with his War knife.
>
> August 21st, 1917 - Mountain Horse captured two German soldiers who were patrolling No Man's Land.
>
> August 21st, 1917 - The 50th battalion of Calgary attacked the German trenches. Corporal Mike Mountain Horse led his machine gun section on an old building behind the German defence. On obtaining their objective, Mountain Horse heard noises in an old cellar. He called upon the enemy to surrender but received no answer. Then he descended the stair. Looking down, he saw a German officer kneeling and aiming to shoot... [damaged page]...tain quickly fired at the officer, killing... [damaged page] he himself was wounded.
>
> August 21st, 1917 - Mountain Horse was buried in this old cellar four days. He had gone down the cellar to get enemy soldiers who had surrendered to the Canadians. While he was down, a German shell wrecked the roof of the cellar. Mountain Horse was buried beneath the wreckage and left for dead.
>
> May 12th, 1918 - Mountain Horse and three companions were sent on a daylight raid on a German machine gun outpost. All of the Germans were despatched and one of the Canadian soldiers was wounded.
>
> August 10th, 1918 - Mountain Horse with two others was sent ahead by their commanding officer at the Battle of Amiens to examine the country ahead. An honor of this kind coming from a superior officer is an important factor in the life of an Indian warrior.
>
> August 10th, 1918 - After the Germans had evacuated their trench, Mountain Horse and his section chased a number of Germans out of a small hut, killing several Germans. From all indications, the German soldiers had been eating a meal. The Canadian soldiers ate the meal instead.
>
> August 10th, 1918 - A machine gun section was bothering the right flank of the 50th Battalion. Mountain Horse and his section killed the German gunners who were responsible. They also captured their guns.

---

[88] *Macleod News*, February 21, 1918.

> At the Battle of Amiens, Mountain Horse and his section killed a few survivors of a German battery and marked the German artillery with the marks and designs of the Blackfoot Confederacy.
>
> August 11th, 1918 - A small party of German soldiers were approached unawares and bombed out of their trench by the Mountain Horse section. The enemy soldiers were shot down, with only one captured.
>
> August 11th, 1918 - Mountain Horse with a companion shot three Germans who were in a trench. After the enemy soldiers had surrendered, they fired on the Canadians with machine guns.
>
> At the Battle of Amiens, a huge German shell wiped out all of the Mountain Horse section but good luck favored Mike. He was unharmed.[89]

Similarly, Nick King recorded his war experiences on the side of a tipi. Among the pictographs are four helmet-clad Germans that he had captured.

George Strangling Wolf, also a member of the Blood tribe, saw overseas service. He enlisted at the age of twenty-two and proceeded to France where he was gassed at Vimy Ridge, but recovered.[90] After it was learned that he had been wounded, the Reverend Middleton tried to have him returned to Canada, however, unlike the cases of Joe and Mike Mountain Horse, this effort proved successful. Scott wrote the Militia Council to ask for George's discharge since he was suffering from gas poisoning.[91] The Militia Council stated that, "the Canadian Headquarters in England have returned this soldier from France, and have instructions that he is to be returned to Canada as soon as possible for disposal by the Military Authorities there."[92]

George Strangling Wolf became the first Blood Indian warrior to return from the trenches to the reserve. The *Macleod News* covered the events accompanying his arrival:

> he is more than glad to be back again among his own people, although he admits he has been through some very wonderful experiences, and seen marvellous sights. His stories will no doubt be a great education to all other Blood Indians, and he will be able to tell them more about the war and the way it is being brought to a successful issue better than any white man or paper could do.[93]

In his honour a special dance was organized on the reserve to welcome him. At the reception he gave a detailed account of his experiences and spoke of life in the trenches and said it was a wonderful sight to see the great numbers of airplanes overhead.[94] While in England, Strangling Wolf was elated at having seen the "Great White King," His Majesty having passed him on this occasion, and then walked away.[95]

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[89] "Great War" Deeds of Corporal Mike Mountain Horse (undated manuscript in the Medicine Hat Museum); see Figure 15.

[90] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, December 26, 1918; ibid., vol. 6773, file 452-15, Return of Indian Enlistments, Blood Agency; *Lethbridge Herald*, September 4, 1917.

[91] Ibid., pt. 1, letter, D.C. Scott to The Secretary, Militia Council, September 5, 1917.

[92] Ibid., letter, Surgeon-General Deputy Minister, Department of Militia and Defence, to D.C. Scott, December 13, 1917.

[93] *Macleod News*, January 17, 1918.

[94] Ibid., January 22, 1918.

[95] Ibid.

Ed Star Blanket, another Indian soldier, received a hero's welcome when he came home in February 1919. The son of the late Cree chief, Star Blanket, Edward had enlisted with the 195th Battalion and in England he was transferred to the 102nd Battalion. Wounded at Vimy Ridge, he was hospitalized in England, where he remained until his return to Canada. On arrival, the File Hills Agency members gave him a grand reception. Over one hundred members of the model Indian farm colony came to Balcarres in sleighs decorated with bunting and Union Jacks to pay their respects to one of their own who had distinguished himself in service for the Empire. They met Star Blanket at the train and carried him shoulder high down the main street. For hours band members listened to the stories of the war recounted in Cree by the Indian soldier.[96]

The war records of several other Indian soldiers provide some indication of their service overseas. In Manitoba, when the news of the war reached Norway House, Alexander Saunders, a fire ranger, enlisted in the 203rd Battalion, believing that he could help in the struggle. He went overseas with the 107th Pioneer Battalion and in 1917 he was seriously wounded in a sortie into No Man's Land. As his comrades were under intense fire they had to leave him on his own, so he started to crawl back to his lines to obtain medical help. While trailing his weapons with him, he spotted something suspicious in a shell crater and went to investigate. Dragging himself to the edge of the pit, he discovered three German soldiers awaiting a favourable moment for a raid. Saunders dragged his gun to his shoulder and decided to take his chances against three enemy soldiers. The wounded man gambled and won. When he crawled back to his own lines, he had the three German soldiers in front of him as his prisoners.[97]

While in hospital during August 1917, Saunders wrote a letter to J.T. Blackford, a fire ranger in Manitoba, in which he described the incident:

> I was wounded on the 15th of August. But I'm having a good rest in this hospital... I haven't heard anything about the other boys. I haven't received any letters from France since I left. But anyway we scared the Germans that morning. I saw men falling on every side of me but I kept on going. At last I got hit on the left thigh. I wasn't afraid that morning. I don't know why. My platoon officer was wounded... I heard we lost lots of men. But anyway we did what we wanted to do. Tell my father that I am getting along alright. But after I was wounded, I didn't leave my rifle and bayonet behind. While I was coming back, I saw three Germans. I was going to shoot at them but they all put up their hands. Well, I can't tell you much, but I'll tell you they don't like the bayonet.[98]

James Redsky, an Ojibwa Indian from the Lake of the Woods area, in a book published in 1972, described his experiences. They can be viewed as typical of the conditions experienced by native soldiers in the front lines. Redsky enlisted in June 1915 with the 52nd Battalion:

> There was no way for us to become lonesome because there was activity all day and night. In June we left Port Arthur and when we arrived in England, we camped at Shorncliff... Suddenly, we had to leave for France... Here we received tough training; I received training as a machine gunner... After Etaples, we moved nearer to the front lines at

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[96] NA, RG 10, vol. 318, file 452,124-IA, *Regina Leader*, February 6, 1919, "File Hill Indian Welcomed Home In Style By Tribe."

[97] *Farmers Telegram*, October 17, 1917.

[98] Ibid.

> Vimy Ridge. From here we could see the big guns... After Vimy was taken we went to Cambrai; my very best friend was killed there... After the fall of Cambrai,[99] we marched to Passchendaele, my first grim experience in warfare. That battle was the toughest thing a human being could endure... One morning at Passchendaele, I awoke soaked from the rain. I tried to pick up my packsack but couldn't budge it. Then I heard a whiz-bang coming and I tried to duck but I couldn't get away. The shell exploded four or five feet from me. When I woke up, I was wounded from shrapnel and couldn't move my legs... When I was discharged from Bradford War Hospital, I went back to my regiment. Then one night our regiment started walking and walking. We all knew that something big was cooking but we couldn't see it. But we could smell a battle and by God it was a dirty smell... Then I knew we were going straight for the big bulge at Amiens.
>
> In the early morning of August the 8th we went into the front lines. The big guns started and the whole earth shook from a tremendous cannon barrage... The next day we moved again until we arrived at Damery. Here, there was bitter fighting as the Germans tried to cut us off... If either of [our] flanks fell, we knew we would be wiped out. We prayed and prayed the boys would not give up. The Germans kept coming, swarming over the trenches in attack. Our machine guns got red hot and the air was filled with smoke.
>
> When the fighting finished, I went over to the front line to see the damage. It was an awful mess, Germans and Canadians lay all over, some wounded, some dead.[100]

Overseas, many of the combat battalions raised in Canada were disbanded and used as reinforcements when they reached Europe. The 107th Pioneer Battalion was converted to the Canadian Engineers in France shortly after Glen Campbell's death in October 1917. Other units were disbanded or broken up, causing a feeling of unrest among the western Canadian Indian troops, since many of them had enlisted with friends and relatives and wanted to remain with them. Others stayed with their battalions, but most of their comrades were killed or invalided to England. Once they were parted from their friends, loneliness became a problem.

In letters to W.M. Graham, three Indians from Saskatchewan expressed their loneliness after being separated from their comrades:

> I am quite well and enjoying the French weather but wishing I was home instead of here. However I hope I will get that chance yet. Most of my Indian pals are either in Blighty or killed. Two of us Indian boys are left, four of them have paid the price for this freedom we are fighting for... I tell you letters are very interesting, especially when your chums are away from you. *Elijah Dickson*.[101]
>
> It makes us boys long to get back when we read all the news. And how proud we feel of the reserve we are doing our duty for. *John Walker*.[102]
>
> I am quite interested in the news of our reserve. Many is the time I wish I was back in my native country. *Abel Watetch*.[103]

---

[99] In fact, the Canadian Corps did not capture Cambrai in 1917.

[100] James Redsky (edited by James R. Stevens), *Great Leader of the Ojibway: Mis-quona-queb* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 14-17.

[101] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 107.

[102] Ibid., 104.

[103] Ibid., 103.

Should an all-Indian battalion have been maintained at the front? The military command in Canada had decided against it in the opening months of the war. There simply were not enough native recruits to maintain a large combat unit, and moreover the enlistees were split by many tribal divisions. Throughout the war, the dominant military opinion remained that Indian soldiers should be integrated with non-Indians.

Fellow tribesmen sometimes were fortunate to be placed in the same units. A number of Blood and Peigan Indians who enlisted in the 191st Battalion were all transferred to the 50th Battalion. It is notable that the correspondence of these men seldom mentioned loneliness except when they were separated from their friends. Mike Mountain Horse, after being wounded and hospitalized, wrote in a letter: "I am rather lonely, although I am amongst good friends. I have not talked Blackfoot for over six months."[104]

Besides serving in the infantry, Indian volunteers were found in other areas of the Canadian military, most notably in the Forestry Corps. A large number of natives from the northern Manitoba reserves enlisted in this arm of the service. The Norway House Agency had seven men in Forestry Draft No. 10, which remained in Canada. From The Pas Agency, eleven men went overseas with various forestry units, as did one man from the Portage la Prairie Agency. From Saskatchewan, a number of men joined the Saskatchewan Forestry Depot.

Two men who joined the navy were Albert Cochrane from Clandeboye Agency and Edward Lavallee from the File Hills Colony.[105] Lavallee originally was too young to enlist; however, he waited for two months until he was of age, and on the very day he finished school he joined the navy. W.M. Graham asked him why he chose the navy and he replied that he had always wanted to join that service and had read much about it. Graham suggested he would be more likely to see his Indian friends in the army, but Edward still wanted to join the navy. He enlisted in Regina and went with a few white friends to Halifax where they were taken on one of the convoy ships. Edward later wrote to Graham expressing no regrets about having joined the navy. He was, however, disappointed at not seeing any of his Indian friends. Edward had never imagined the army was so big and thought he might see some of his friends every time he was in port. By coincidence, Edward did once meet his brother, Moses, who was then a bugler in the army. When the war ended both men returned to the reserve and often told of their experiences.[106]

Other Indians performed various kinds of duty in the service. Abram Asham from the Peguis Reserve in Manitoba[107] and Joseph Austin Nahbexie from the Moose Mountain Agency in Saskatchewan[108] served as sappers. Patrick Brittain from the Duck Lake Agency enlisted in June 1917 at the age of thirty-five in the 52nd Battalion and was transferred to the 7th Battalion where he worked as a blacksmith. Brittain had learned this trade at the Battleford Industrial School and utilized it during the war.[109] Also, one Indian who served in administration was William Gaddie from the Cowessess Reserve who enlisted in the 249th Battalion but worked with the Special Service Corps and remained at Regina.[110]

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[104] *Macleod News*, February 21, 1918.

[105] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-17, Return of Indian Enlistments, File Hills Agency.

[106] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 98.

[107] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-17, Return of Indian Enlistments, Fisher River Agency.

[108] Ibid., file 452-15, letter, Thomas Cory, Moose Mountain Agency, to J.D. McLean, April 1, 1919; ibid., file 452-37, letter, E.W. Stephenson, Carlyle Agency, to J.D McLean, March 24, 1928.

Although many of the men came back, some did not, and when it was learned by telegram of a native soldier's death, his wife went into mourning for a period of several weeks, and showed outward signs of great suffering. Mothers of the men who were killed usually mourned in the traditional way, going to the woods by themselves where they could wail aloud at all hours of the night and day.[111]

How many western Canadian Indians actually enlisted? By using the Indian Department's "Return of Indian Enlistments" forms that were submitted by the various agents, as well as newspaper reports and published articles, it can be determined that at least 400 western Canadian natives enlisted. There probably were more but it is difficult to know for sure because many of the agents' records are incomplete.

Of the 400 native enlistees nearly 300 served overseas. Several dozen of these men were in forestry or construction units and were not constantly in the front lines. The known number of western Canadian Indians in combat units stands at 267. Of these men nearly 52 percent were either killed (56) or wounded (82), which is an extremely high casualty rate. A closer examination shows that from Manitoba there were 145 men overseas of whom 71 were casualties; from Saskatchewan, 93 overseas with 52 casualties; and from Alberta, 29 overseas and 15 casualties.[112] We have a further breakdown of participation in the war from a number of the western agencies (see Table 1).

Table 1
Casualties Among Western Canadian Indians*

Band/Reserve	Number of Adult Males	Overseas	Killed	Wounded	Gassed
Cote Reserve, SK	43	22			
Peguis Band, MB	118	20	11	3	4
The Pas Band, MB	92	19			
St. Peter's Band, MB	127	33	7	8	1
Griswold Agency, MB	84	20			

* Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 307-08.

The personnel files held by the National Archives of Canada reveal the story of several of the Indian soldiers who were killed overseas. Alexander Big Man (or Misteyenew) from the Carlton Agency in Saskatchewan enlisted at Battleford at the age of twenty-two. He was later transferred to the 46th Battalion where shell shrapnel killed him while at his post on February 6, 1917. In letters, the Minister of Militia and Defence and his colonel, H.J. Dawson, informed the deceased's father:

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[109] Ibid., letter, S. Schmidt, Duck Lake Indian agent, to J.D McLean, May 2, 1919; ibid., vol. 7524, file 25,109-5, Indian Soldier Settlement Form, July 7, 1920.

[110] Ibid., file 452-17, Return of Indian Enlistments, Crooked Lake Agency.

[111] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 99.

[112] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-17, Return of Indian Enlistments for western agencies.

> I write with real regret regarding the death of your son... At the time he was in the front line bravely performing his duties in defending our front. He now lies in the military cemetery where his grave has been marked by a cross and will be suitably cared for.[113]

From the Battleford area Alexander Decoteau, a Cree whose father fought against the Canadian militia in the Rebellion of 1885, enlisted in April 1916 at the age of twenty-nine with the 49th Battalion. Decoteau was born on the Red Pheasant Reserve, Saskatchewan, in December 1887. He gained recognition for his racing prowess which earned him a place on the 1912 Canadian Olympic team for the games at Stockholm. When Alex returned to Canada, he joined the Edmonton Police Department and was a sergeant when he decided to enlist. On the morning of October 30, 1917, he was killed during the attack on Passchendaele Ridge.[114]

The impression made on Europeans by Canada's native soldiers is not completely known, due to the limited number of references. What reports there are, though questionable, provide a glimpse of this subject. One English source, for example, stated that all soldiers from the colonies of the British Empire were viewed generally by the Germans to be members of aboriginal groups. All New Zealanders were thought to be Maoris, while North American soldiers were assumed to belong to either the "Choctaws, Blackfeet, or Ojibwas."[115] This misconception was probably used as propaganda by the German government to keep up the morale of the army and to assure their people that British efforts to raise an army in Canada had failed. When the Canadian Expeditionary Force arrived in Europe, the German military authorities ridiculed it by making light of its fighting value and casting suspicion on the background of its men.[116] They were portrayed either as inferior primitive natives or people eager to break away from Britain.[117]

When Scott summed up the native effort during the war, he made particular mention of the stereotyped impression many Germans had of the Indians and even stated that the Canadian fighting spirit had its roots in the native personality. Scott wrote:

> If singled out by the foe for particular mention, it may be claimed for the Indians, who were depicted by the Germans in warpaint and with feathers, with scalping knives and tomahawks, ready to carry out upon the childlike soldiers of the Fatherland their treacherous and cruel practices. No doubt, the Germans had a wholesome fear of the Canadian methods of fighting, of the efficiency of our sharp-shooters, and the sudden, desperate nature of our trench raids. It is not too much to claim that the alertness of our troops, their daring and unrivalled resource in the type of warfare that developed, had a remote Indian origin, and as for the Indian himself, there is no doubt that he excelled in the kind of offensive that had been practised by his ancestors and was native to him.[118]

Based on their correspondence, it is notable that the Indian soldiers' impression of the conflict contrasted greatly with that reported in numerous books and articles written after the war. Most of these authors refer to the massive casualties and try to explain the terrible conditions the men had to endure. Pierre Berton attempts to portray a feeling of life in the trenches:

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[113] *Saskatchewan Herald*, Battleford, May 3, 1917.

[114] Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers*, 26.

[115] *London Pictorial Newspaper* (1917): 33-34.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 285.

> dig in your backyard a ditch about eight feet deep, fill it during a rainstorm with two feet of thick clay mud, and then crouch in it, day and night, for a week, living on tinned bully beef, a few slices of mouldy bread or hardtack, and plum jam. Yet even if you filled the ditch with live rats and infested it with so many lice that your shirt crawled, it would still be a pale counterfeit of the real thing. The ceaseless rumble of guns, the crack of bullets overhead, the crump of trench mortars, the stench of mangled bodies, and the command on certain nights to emerge from your filthy hole and crawl in terror across No Man's Land — these cannot be simulated.[119]

Conditions such as these were rarely mentioned by Indian soldiers; instead they viewed life in the trenches more positively. Examples of native impressions are found in their letters:

> I'd certainly love to be able to go out paddling around the old lake, it is such a long while I did it. At present, I'm paddling around the mud, its been raining rather heavily... we are living in dug-outs once again, its just great these days, nothing much to do, just sit around and write letters, or read novels. Some of the dug-outs are very comfortable indeed... It is something like a lumber Jack's life when everything is quiet. *Henry Charles*.[120]
>
> I'm sorry that I am not able to tell you any news, but of course you understand. It's quite like Canada here just now, only more muddy. *Alexander Brass*.[121]

The focus of the Indians' comments concern the war and the adventures they were having. In Albert Mountain Horse's letter, he found the poisonous gas to be the most upsetting.[122] Other examples are provided by File Hills Indians:

> I know you people like to know how I came out on the big Fight we had. Well Sir, I am sorry to say I got wounded again. I got hit on the right hip after fighting for six hours. I was hit on top of Vimy Ridge and one of the boys dressed me up and left me there. So I got out of the hole and laid down on top looking over the Ridge to see our boys fighting. It was a pretty sight, still I was very sorry to see some of our boys falling dead alongside of me, but they fought as soldiers. *Ed Swanson*.[123]
>
> I am over here with a rifle after Germans and I should say they're more plentiful than ducks over here at times, and then at that it's hard to shoot them. When they come over with hands up crying out comrade. However, it's in war. *Harry Stonechild*.[124]

In Henry Charles' letter a hint of regret seems present when the war ended. He was from the Île à la Crosse Agency in Saskatchewan, and wrote:

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[119] Pierre Berton, *Vimy* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 56.

[120] NA, RG 24, C5, vol. 1819, file 4-119, letter, Henry Charles to Miss Stapleton, July 24, 1918.

[121] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 109.

[122] *Calgary Herald*, October 3, 1915.

[123] Graham, *Treaty Days*, 104.

[124] Ibid., 111.

> We ve been in this place for several days, having a very easy time, forget all about live work. It is certainly different to know there is no more war, miss hearing no bombardments of any kind. Everything is quiet, once in a while, we can hear the whistle of the train away in the distance.[125]

Among the native soldiers a number did desert. It appears, however, that their reasons ranged from loneliness due to being separated from the friends with whom they had enlisted to a misunderstanding of army regulations, rather than to cowardice. This shows that the Indians lacked an understanding of what was expected of them by the army. For example, a number of recruits left Camp Borden in Ontario when they heard a rumour that their battalion might remain in Canada all winter. However, as soon as it became known that the battalion was being ordered overseas, the Indian deserters reported for duty.[126] Traditionally, once a man chose to join a war party, his goal was to engage in action with the enemy and if this did not occur then he would return home. These men had joined up to fight, and if this was not to occur, they saw no reason to remain at their barracks.

Joseph Jerry Bone from the Birtle Agency in Manitoba enlisted in the 107th Pioneer Battalion in April 1916 and deserted in July. When he was reported absent, the Birtle agent made inquiries and was informed that Bone was at the Pine Creek Reserve where he had married the daughter of the chief there. The agent then wrote to the principal of the Pine Creek Boarding School for further information concerning these rumours. The principal replied that Bone had told him he had been discharged due to poor health. However, the agent did not believe Bone since he knew him to be a strong, healthy young man. Joseph Boyer, of the Keeseekoowenin's Band, informed the agent that Lieutenant Colonel Glen Campbell, commander of the 107th Battalion, communicated with him, stating that Bone had left the regiment in Winnipeg and did not report for duty.[127] Bone was officially struck off the battalion as a deserter on June 28, 1918.[128] Efforts were not made to have him returned to the battalion since a special case for Indian deserters was made in February 1917:

> where there is evidence of a bona fide intention on the part of any Indians, now deserters, to return to the service, they will be allowed to enlist in Railway Construction or Forestry Battalions. It is against the policy of the Department to treat all deserters in this manner, but it is considered advisable to extend special leniency to Indians who have deserted the Service.[129]

Another case of desertion due to a lack of understanding military regulations occurred on the Peguis Reserve in Manitoba. John Munninguay (or Maningway) and William Thompson enlisted in the 203rd Battalion but were listed as deserters. However, Lieutenant Colonel J. Lightfoot, the Inspector for the Civil Branch of the Canadian Military Policy Council, informed the agent, T.H. Carter, that if he could bring to the attention of these men a copy of "Amnesty to Deserters" and if they surrendered on or before August 24, 1918, a full pardon awaited them, and that all privileges would be extended them by so doing.[130] Carter replied:

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[125] NA, RG 24, C5, vol. 1819, file 4-119, letter, Henry Charles to Miss Stapleton, December 29, 1918.

[126] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 299.

[127] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-16, pt. 1, letter, G.H. Wheatley, Birtle Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, April 20, 1917.

[128] Ibid., letter, G.H. Wheatley, Birtle Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, December 12, 1918.

[129] Ibid., letter, Eugene Fiset, Surgeon-General, to D.C. Scott, February 9, 1917.

> They have voluntarily come forward to take advantage of the Amnesty provided in the Military Proclamation of August 1, and I assure you that these men had no knowledge of this proclamation until the 24th, too late for them to get to Winnipeg. They are however, coming in by the first train leaving after that date. They were entirely ignorant of the seriousness of their neglect in not returning to their unit after being allowed to go to the harvest fields and having their uniform taken from them, which act they took to mean they were let go. That this is the case is substantiated by the fact that they have made no attempt to hide and have been engaged in work with others at ordinary pursuits.[131]

Using the proclamation of January 17, 1918, which exempted Indians from military service, Carter applied for the discharges of Munninguay and Thompson after they had received amnesty.[132] However, before their release these two men enlisted voluntarily and left for service in Siberia.[133]

The enlistment and subsequent desertion of twenty-year-old George Gaddie of the Cowessess Band in Saskatchewan from the 249th Battalion, created an administrative problem for several months. The case hints of bureaucratic confusion existing in the Canadian Army during the war. George had joined without informing his parents of his intentions and when his father, Alexander, learned of his son's enlistment he became very upset. He asked to have the young man discharged since he was responsible for the management of the farm. The father, on account of his age (eighty-six) could not manage himself. Also, since his farm was one of the largest on the reserve, it was impossible to engage local Indians to work it in a satisfactory manner. E. Taylor, the Indian agent, suggested that the Department of Indian Affairs contact the militia authorities and try to obtain the young man's discharge.[134] McLean sent the request on to the military authorities who responded by noting erroneously that George had already gone overseas, and therefore no action could be taken in Canada. They asked if McLean wished to refer the request to the overseas authorities, but the official declined to proceed any further with the case.[135]

The case continued as Alexander Gaddie still pressed for his son's discharge, citing his past support for the government. In his letter to Scott he stated:

> I might say here that I once rendered aid to the government at the time of the Batoche uprising by my influence with the Indians... I was highly thanked by the then presiding officials. The only person living now to my knowledge to prove same, if my word be doubted, is a Mr. McKenzie

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[130] Ibid., file 452-15, pt. 1, letter, Lt.-Col. J. Lightfoot, Chief Inspector, Civil Branch, CMPC, to T.H. Carter, Fisher River Indian agent, August 18, 1918.

[131] Ibid., letter, T.H. Carter, Fisher River Indian agent, to J.R. Bunn, Inspector of Indian Agencies, August 26, 1918.

[132] Ibid., letter, T.H. Carter, Fisher River Indian agent, to The Officer In Charge, Winnipeg Military District, August 26, 1918; ibid., letter, T.H. Carter, to Lt.-Col. J. Lightfoot, Chief Inspector, Civil Branch of the CMPC, August 26, 1918.

[133] Ibid., letter, T.H. Carter, Fisher River Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, November 14, 1918; Albert Edward Thompson, *Chief Peguis and His Descendants* (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1973), 61.

[134] Ibid., letter, E. Taylor, Crooked Lake Agency, to J.D. McLean, May 9, 1917.

[135] Ibid., letter, Surgeon-General Deputy Minister to J.D. McLean, May 28, 1917; ibid., letter, J.D. McLean to E. Fiset, Surgeon-General Deputy Minister of Militia and Defense, June 1, 1917.

> who at that time was a fur inspector for the HBCo. As one good turn deserves another and as I did help the government once, I would like them to help me now... I wish you to use your influence to have him brought back.[136]

Gaddie also enlisted the aid of H.W. MacDonald, a barrister, who stated to McLean:

> Before leaving, [George] thought he had provided for his aged parents by getting a man in his place but he has enlisted... It is necessary that something be done... The boy now would be willing I am informed to come back when he found out that the man he had left in his place had enlisted. The father thinks this is a case where the growing of crops by the son would do something towards the war... They would appreciate anything the department could do with the military authorities to have their son on whom they were depending for support and recognizing the need of him either as a soldier or a producer of food.[137]

The problem became even more complicated with the death of Alexander Gaddie a short time later, which left the farm without a manager. The Indian agent now wrote to W.M. Graham to suggest that since agricultural production meant so much at that particular time, George should be released.[138] Since he had not gone overseas and as the circumstances of his case were exceptional, Graham pressed McLean to reconsider the matter.[139] At this point the negotiations took an unexpected turn, for it was determined that the 249th Battalion had gone overseas, but Gaddie had not been with them. He had deserted before they had left Quebec. As a result, the authorities refused to consider Gaddie's discharge as long as he remained a deserter. The records are silent on the eventual outcome of this long-drawn-out case.[140]

There appears to have been no uniform policy on Indian desertions. When Blood Indians Jim Only Chief and Laurie Plume deserted, for instance, authorities were quick to take action, without attempting to understand the men's motivations. Their departures appear to have been the result of being separated from the other Indians with whom they had enlisted. Only Chief joined up in July 1916 at the age of twenty-seven. He deserted in January 1917, was captured, and deserted again in May 1918. On both occasions he was accompanied by Laurie Plume. Only Chief was given a five-year term in the Edmonton Penitentiary at hard labour.[141] While deserting, the two men stole horses to help them escape so they were charged for horse stealing in addition to deserting.[142]

Laurie Plume enlisted in May 1916 at the age of twenty. After being captured during his second attempt at desertion he served eighteen months in the provincial jail.[143] When Plume deserted the second time, he rode his stolen horse over the border into the United States. Upon hearing that peace had been declared, he thought it was safe to go back to the Blood Reserve, but shortly after returning, the Mounties arrested him. During the train trip from Lethbridge to Calgary, Plume locked himself in the lavatory and jumped from the window while the train was between Nobleford and Barons. He returned to the reserve and was once again arrested and sent to Calgary, where he received a five-year term.

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[136] Ibid., letter, Alexander Gaddie to D.C. Scott, June 8, 1917.

[137] Ibid., letter, H.W. MacDonald, barrister, to J.D. McLean, June 22, 1917.

[138] Ibid., letter, W.M. Graham, Inspector Indian Agencies, to J.D. McLean, November 26, 1917.

[139] Ibid., letter, W.M. Graham, Inspector Indian Agencies, to J.D. McLean, December 12, 1917.

[140] Ibid., letter, D.C. Scott, to The Secretary, The Militia Council, January 12, 1918; ibid., letter, Eugene Fiset, Surgeon-General Deputy Minister, to D.C. Scott, January 17, 1918.

[141] Ibid., letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, December 26, 1918.

[142] *Macleod News*, November 28, 1918.

[143] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, pt. 1, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, December 26, 1918.

The *Macleod News* covered the story and believed that Plume and Only Chief deserted because they were not used to the strict discipline of the army and therefore took the quickest means of returning home, which included stealing horses.[144] However, Plume himself disputed this explanation. He claimed that when he overstayed his leave, his battalion had left the Sarcee Camp for overseas, separating him from his friends. Since he did not want to go alone he decided to leave the army.[145]

The same set of circumstances may have occurred when Tom Little Plume from the Peigan Reserve deserted. He had enlisted in the 192nd Battalion, but was transferred to several different units. He finally deserted and was apprehended and given a six-month jail term. After his release he returned to the reserve at Brocket, Alberta.[146]

In the case of Allan Mecas, an Indian from the Birtle Agency in Manitoba who enlisted in March 1917 and deserted in August 1917, the punishment ultimately became worse than the crime. He was caught and received an eighteen-month sentence; however, after serving twelve months he was released to the army but was discharged on September 19, 1918 as being medically unfit.[147] Mecas probably developed a respiratory disease while in prison, resulting in his early release as being unsuitable for the army.

The desertion of St. Pierre Deegan had more tragic results. He had enlisted in the 152nd Battalion along with a relative, James Deegan. Both were Sioux from the Standing Buffalo Reserve in Saskatchewan. St. Pierre apparently deserted soon after enlisting and nothing was heard from him again.[148] His action may have been the reason why James Deegan committed suicide on May 25, 1916,[149] as he may have thought that disciplinary action would be taken against him, since St. Pierre was his relative. Or, as in the case of Laurie Plume, he may have felt abandoned and decided he could not face army life alone. For him, this may have been the only solution to avoid retribution, and the shame placed on him.

While desertion may have been a problem for some Indians, sickness and disease posed a more serious threat. While the casualty rate in action was high, many Indian soldiers also fell victim to tuberculosis and other respiratory ailments.[150] Conditions in the army aggravated a problem that had already become the major killer of natives in the pre-war period. For example, George Flett from the Peguis Reserve in Manitoba enlisted and while in Canada became sick with tuberculosis.[151] David Mills from the Blood Reserve enlisted in May 1916 in the 191st Battalion, but was discharged as medically unfit when he developed pneumonia in Halifax and was returned to his reserve.[152] From the Hobbema Agency, Henry Larocque died from pneumonia in Halifax on January 15, 1917, while on his way overseas with his battalion.[153] Peter Bignell from The Pas in Manitoba enlisted in the Canadian Army Medical Corps and served in Canada where he developed lung trouble and was discharged with a pension.[154]

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[144] *Macleod News*, November 28, 1918.

[145] Interview, Laurie Plume, June 20, 1985.

[146] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15, pt. 1, letter, Thomas Graham, Acting Peigan Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, January 9, 1919.

[147] Ibid., file 452-16, pt. 1., letter, G.H. Wheatley, Birtle Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, January 3, 1919.

[148] Ibid., file 452-15, letter, M. Christianson, Qu'Appelle Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, January 14, 1919.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers*, 22.

Those Indians who developed tuberculosis in Europe usually died there or if they made it home, died shortly afterward. Albert Kootenay from the Lac Ste. Anne Band in Alberta developed tuberculosis in France. He returned to Canada, but died shortly thereafter in the sanatorium at Frank, Alberta.[155] Daniel Joshua from the Hobbema Agency enlisted and developed "consumption" (tuberculosis) in England, dying on the way home on May 6, 1917.[156] Philip Jackson from the Peepeekesis Band fought with the 5th Battalion but died of bronchitis in an English hospital on February 1, 1917.[157] John Gambler from the Pine Creek Reserve enlisted in the 223rd Battalion where he became ill and died in England.[158]

A number of Indians who survived the shells and bullets of the enemy, later succumbed to tuberculosis and other diseases as a result of the hardships and exposures which they had undergone at the front.[159] While Peter Crane, from the Hobbema Agency, was in the 190th Battalion he developed rheumatism and was honourably discharged.[160] James Highway, from The Pas Agency, went overseas with the forestry corps, but he died in Canada on the day of his discharge.[161]

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[151] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-17, Return of Indian Enlistments, Fisher River Agency.

[152] Ibid., file 452-15, letter, W.J. Dilworth, Blood Agency, to D.C. Scott, December 26, 1918.

[153] Ibid., file 452-17, Return of Indian Enlistments, J. Butlin, Hobbema Indian agent, March 15, 1917; ibid., file 452-15, letter, M.G. Auby, Hobbema Indian agent, to C.D. Scott, March 21, 1928.

[154] Ibid., vol. 6771, file 452-30, letter, George Gaddy, The Pas Agency, to J.D. McLean, March 31, 1919.

[155] Ibid., vol. 6767, file 452-15, letter, Edmonton Indian agent to D.C. Scott, February 24, 1919.

[156] Ibid., file 452-17, Return of Indian Enlistments, J. Butlin, Hobbema Agency, March 15, 1917.

[157] Ibid., Return of Indian Enlistments, File Hills Agency.

[158] Ibid., letter, A. Ogletree, Portage la Prairie Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, March 3, 1919.

[159] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 290.

[160] NA, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-17, Return of Indian Enlistments, J. Butlin, Hobbema Indian agent, March 15, 1917; ibid., file 452-15, letter, M.G. Auby, Hobbema Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, March 21, 1928.

[161] Ibid., vol. 6771, file 452-37, Burial Form for Armed Forces Personnel, George Gaddy, The Pas Indian agent to Department of Indian Affairs, March 28, 1928.

FOUR

After the War

It is apparent that band members viewed returning Indian soldiers as heroes. After the war, the Bloods held a victory Sun Dance for all the returning veterans in June 1919. Joe Crow Chief, one of the veterans, stated: "I cannot express how happy I was and how proud I was because my people were proud of me."[1] The ceremony and dancing lasted for three days and, following ancient tradition, the women took a prominent part. In the nomadic days, a woman would dance with a scalp taken by her husband, or carry some other symbol of his achievement. Mrs. Nick King, the wife of one of the veterans, made a new buckskin dress with the emblem of the 50th Battalion beaded on the yoke. When she danced, she was parading her husband's war honours, just as her ancestors had done.

The sentiment of the Bloods was expressed by Joe Devine, who took pride in the fact that a reserve of around seven hundred people had sent nine men overseas, seven of whom returned alive.[2]

Another Blood ceremony took place in 1923, when the war veterans learned that W.C. Bryan, their old commanding officer, would be visiting the reserve to present them with victory and service medals. Early in March, almost the entire tribe gathered at the reserve's dance hall. Bryan was escorted into the building by five veterans — Joe and Mike Mountain Horse, Nick King, George Strangling Wolf, and Joe Crow Chief — all wearing military uniforms and carrying rifles. Inside, the hall was lined with Union Jacks and bunting. When the veterans were paraded in front of their former commanding officer, Bryan presented them with their medals and praised their heroism and the "true devotion to duty they have shown to the British Empire and the Union Jack."[3] After the soldiers were dismissed, the leading chiefs and elders came forward in full costume, followed by women in colourful dresses and blankets. When everyone was assembled, the head chief, Shot Both Sides, made a long speech in praise of Bryan and made him an honourary chief of the tribe. "Your visit here tonight," Shot Both Sides told Bryan, "and your being made a chief, will live forever in the memory of the Blood Indians."[4] The evening concluded with an honouring dance in which more than 500 Indians took part.

On most reserves, similar dances or celebrations were held for the returning veterans, although not always with the government's blessing. Veteran Abel Watetch told what happened on the Piapot Reserve:

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[1] *Kainai News* 7, no. 15 (November 20, 1974).

[2] *Macleod News*, December 26, 1918, letter from Joe Devine. The two who died were Albert Mountain Horse and George Coming Singer.

[3] *Macleod Times*, March 20, 1923.

[4] Ibid.

> At the close of the war when some of these young men came back, the band wanted to express its gratitude by an old time Sun Dance, or Rain Dance, as they now called it. They sent one of the returned soldiers to Regina to ask permission of The Big Boss, Indian Commissioner W.M. Graham. He explained the situation and asked that the band be allowed to revive its ancient ceremonial for the event. Graham refused. "Look," he said, "you have been forbidden to hold the Sun Dance. It's part of the Indian religion and it's no damn good."
>
> The young soldier spoke quietly:
>
> "I went to the war. I offered my life to protect this country. I have come back. I fought for you and I fought for all those who sat in this office during the war. I have a right to ask you to give us back our Sun Dance."[5]

After further discussion, Graham permitted the Sun Dance to be held on the condition that no Indians would be invited from nearby reserves. When other Indians came without invitations, the Mounted Police threatened to stop the ceremonies and the leaders were forced to compromise by shortening the festival.

In discussing the war veterans, Graham noted:

> in the course of time some of the young men were invalided home. Two, who came back together, had each lost a limb… These returned men were great heroes in the eyes of their friends, and much time was taken up visiting on the different reserves, and giving them first hand information of what had taken place and was taking place in the theatre of war.[6]

When the Indian soldiers came home they believed they were returning to an enlightened society for which many of them had fought and died. Overseas they had been exposed to new ideas which had broadened their outlook and their expectations.[7] On their return, the Indian soldiers began to seek better treatment for themselves and their people. For instance, veterans of the Peguis band in Manitoba wanted to know what benefits they could expect from the government for their services during the war.[8] Similarly, Mark Steinhauer, from the Saddle Lake Agency in Alberta, made these views even more apparent. He wrote:

> I have been wondering… whether we are going to get anything out of our country that we are going to fight for… What I want to find out is, is there a possible chance of us getting our franchise and our location in the reservation after the war is over? I do not think it would be fair not to get anything out of a country that we are fighting for.[9]

In reality, however, nothing had changed. When an Indian agent inquired in 1922 about the legal status of Indian veterans, the assistant secretary of the Indian Department replied: "These returned Indian soldiers are subject to the provisions of the Indian Act and are in the same position as they were before enlisting."[10]

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[5] Abel Watetch, *Payepot and His People* (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1959), 46.

[6] W.M. Graham, *Treaty Days: Reflections of an Indian Commissioner* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1991), 100.

[7] Roger W. Graham, "Through the First War," in J.M.S. Careless and R.C. Brown (eds.), *The Canadians* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), 194; National Archives (NA), Glenn T. Wright, "Rifles to Ploughshares: Veterans and Land Settlement in Western Canada, 1917-1930," 2 (paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, June 1982).

[8] NA, RG 10, vol. 7527, file 25,136-1, letter, T.H. Carter, Fisher River Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, April 21, 1919.

[9] Ibid., vol. 6767, file 452-15, pt. 1, letter, Mark Steinhauer to D.C. Scott, August 7, 1916.

[10] Ibid., vol. 3181, file 452,124-1A, letter, J.D. McLean to Thomas Deasy, September 8, 1922.

This statement summed up not only the legal but also the social and economic status of Indians after the war.[11] While conditions for the majority of Canadians improved, the same could not be said for natives. Even though they survived the war, many Indian veterans continued to live at the bottom of the economic ladder and as the years passed their situation did not improve. One can imagine the despair they experienced, especially when comparing themselves to their white colleagues.[12]

During the war it appeared for a time that the legal status of Canada's Indians would change after native soldiers were given the right to vote.[13] Their franchise was officially confirmed in 1916. William Chisholm, a member of Parliament, asked Charles Doherty, the Minister of Justice: "have Indians, 21 years of age and British subjects, who enlist as soldiers in the present war, the right to vote at a Dominion election held during the war?"[14] Doherty responded by quoting Section 1 of the Canadian Soldiers on Active Military Service Act:

> Every male British subject of 21 years of age or upwards serving in the military forces of Canada in the present war ... qualified to vote in any other electoral district in Canada he shall vote in such other district only. ... and makes no exception of Indians[15]

The vote had already been extended to Indian soldiers when the Military Voters Bill was introduced in late 1917. A provision was included in the Bill which allowed Indian soldiers who had returned, been discharged, or released, to vote in a federal election.[16] Special arrangements were made for the 1917 election whereby, if it was not feasible for Indians to vote at the polling station closest to their reserve, a polling station would be set up for them. During this election, Indian veterans could vote without the fear of losing their treaty status.[17]

After the war, the legal status of Indians remained an unresolved question among many Indians and officials. Members of the public advocated giving the franchise to the entire native population in recognition of their men's valiant performance on the battlefield.[18] However, while this idea appeared to many as a solution to the question of government wardship, the franchise in the minds of many Indians also carried the distinct danger of termination of their reserves, and of their Indian status.[19] This fear was well founded as Scott wanted the Indians' special status to be terminated when he believed they were ready, even if they opposed termination. As he stated:

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[11] Hana Samek, *The Blackfoot Confederacy 1880-1920* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 372.

[12] Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1985), 31.

[13] James Dempsey, "The Indians and World War One," *Alberta History* 31, no. 3 (Summer 1983): 2.

[14] Canada, *Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada*, 6th Session, 12th Parliament, May 4, 1916.

[15] Canada, Canadian Soldiers Active Military Services Act, 1916, Section 1.

[16] NA, RG 10, vol. 6770, file 452-24, memorandum, General Returning Officer for Canada to D.C. Scott, December 13, 1917. The government document can be found in Privy Council 5277, November 27, 1917.

[17] Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers*, 31.

[18] W. Everard Edmonds, "Canada's Red Army," *Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* 54, no. 4 (February 1921): 341-42.

[19] Samek, *The Blackfoot Confederacy*, 371-72; S.D. Grant, "Indian Affairs Under Duncan Campbell Scott: The Plains Cree of Saskatchewan, 1913-1931," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 18, no. 3 (Fall 1983): 34.

> I think that it would be to the interest of good administration if the provisions with regard to enfranchisement were further extended so as to enable the Department to enfranchise individual Indians or bands of Indians, without the necessity of obtaining their consent thereto, in cases where it is found upon investigation that the continuance of wardship is no longer in the interest of the public or of the Indian.[20]

In his essay, written in 1919 on the native soldiers, Scott had set down his dream:

> These men who have been broadened by contact with the outside world and its affairs, who have mingled with the men of other races, and who have witnessed the many wonders and advantages of civilization, will not be content to return to their old Indian mode of life. Each one of them will be a missionary of the spirit of progress... Thus the war will have hastened that day... when all the quaint old customs, the weird and picturesque ceremonies, the sun dance and the potlatch and even the musical and poetic native languages shall be as obsolete as the buffalo and the tomahawk, and the last tepee of the Northern wilds give place to a model farmhouse. In other words, the Indian shall become one with his neighbour in his speech, life and habits, thus conforming to that world-wide tendency towards universal standardization which would appear to be the essential underlying purport of all modern social evolution. The unselfish loyalty... displayed by Indians from all the nine provinces of Canada should throw a new light upon the sterling qualities of a race whose virtues are perhaps not sufficiently known or appreciated.[21]

The Greater Production effort of 1918 was an indication of how easily the government could override native rights by simply amending the Indian Act. This project had originated in 1916, when feeding Britain had become a major priority. Although the Indian Department sent out a circular in September 1914 asking Indians to produce as much wheat as possible,[22] the first indication of their role in the program came in a circular from Scott in the autumn of 1916. It stated:

> the Indians should be encouraged to settle on their reserves, and, where feasible, to engage in farming, stock-raising, etc. At any rate they should in most cases cultivate small gardens in which to raise potatoes, turnips, etc., for their own use.[23]

In January 1918, W.M. Graham outlined a plan to increase food production in order to assist with the war effort. It involved the use of "idle" Indian lands which he claimed amounted in the South Saskatchewan Inspectorate alone to 220,000 acres. He proposed that the proper use of these lands could raise cattle production to three times the existing level. The project became known as the "Greater Production" scheme, which Graham himself approved in February 1918 when he became commissioner for the western provinces.[24] By an order in council he was given authority "to make proper arrangements with the Indians for the leasing of reserve lands"[25] and to manage these lands for the Greater Production effort.

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[20] Edward Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 122.

[21] Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," in *Canada in the Great War: Vol. III — Guarding the Channel Ports* (Toronto: United Publishing of Canada Ltd., 1919), 327-28.

[22] E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 39.

[23] NA, RG 10, vol. 1392, circular, D.C. Scott to agents, September 14, 1916. File Hills and Qu'Appelle Agency General Correspondence and Circulars, 1909-1922.

[24] E. Brian Titley, "William Morris Graham: Indian Agent Extraordinaire," *Prairie Forum* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 29-30; John L. Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy During The Inter-War Years* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1984), 16-17.

The Conservative government endorsed Graham's plan even when it was criticized by government opponents as not being in the best interests of the Indians. The Honourable Arthur Meighen, Minister of the Interior, defended the commissioner when he stated in the House of Commons on April 23, 1918:

> We need not waste any time in sympathy for the Indian, for I am pretty sure his interests will be looked after by the Commissioner... The Indian is a ward of the Government still. The presumption of the law is that he has not the capacity to decide what is for his ultimate benefit in the same degree as his guardian, the Government of Canada.[26]

At that time, the Indian Act stated that Indian lands could not be expropriated for any purpose without the consent of the band involved. To make the confiscation of reserve lands a simpler matter, the federal government amended the Act in the spring of 1918, eliminating the necessity of securing Indian consent.[27] Indian lands were to be used in two ways: the first method involved leasing land to white farmers for up to five years; some 313,398 acres were handled in this way.[28] The second saw the establishment of Greater Production farms on Indian land — federal agricultural experiments were set up on 20,448 acres on the Blood, Blackfoot, Muscowpetung, Crooked Lakes, and Assiniboine reserves.[29] The federal cabinet also amended the Indian Act to make available "idle" band funds for investment in the Greater Production scheme.[30]

After the war, the Greater Production farms continued in operation, which is surprising considering their financial failure. The total expenditure far exceeded the revenue from sales, and the balance of cash on hand was less than one-third of the initial investment of $362,000.[31] The project showed a profit only because of the leases of reserve lands. By April 1920, these leases had generated in excess of $200,000 and offset the losses from the government farms.[32]

In 1919, the Deputy Superintendent-General saw the effort as a success when he stated:

> when the need of greater production became so urgent in the latter years of the war, an appeal was made to the Indian farmers... and especially in... the Prairie Provinces... Greater Production campaigns were organized on the reserves, and the Indians set to work with a commendable degree of public spirit and patriotic enthusiasm. As a result of their efforts many extensive tracts of land that had hitherto lain idle were placed under cultivation; a valuable contribution was thus made to the food supply of the nation, and work of permanent importance accomplished.[33]

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[25] Canada, Privy Council 393, February 16, 1918.

[26] Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 1918, vol. II (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1918), 1049-50.

[27] Titley, "William Morris Graham," 30; Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 17.

[28] Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 19.

[29] Titley, "William Morris Graham," 30.

[30] Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 41; Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 19.

[31] Titley, "William Morris Graham," 31.

[32] Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 42-43. See also, "Summary of Receipts and Expenditures, Re: Greater Production Farms, March 23, 1921. Amount advanced from war appropriation: $362,000.00. Revenue from sales as of February 28, 1921: $576,192.07. Total: $938,192.07. Expenditure: $826,838.93. Balance On Hand: $111,353.13," in Titley, "William Morris Graham," 30.

[33] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 326-27.

By 1922, however, Scott had come to realize that the project had no continued justification and so he terminated it.[34]

The implementation of the scheme greatly upset the Blood Indians. On May 31, 1920, they presented a memorandum to the department outlining their complaints, which included gross mismanagement and the agent's high handedness. A local trader published the document under the title, *Our Betrayed Wards.*[35] The Bloods pointed out, for example, that on May 30, 1918, after nearly 4,800 acres of their reserve had been taken for the creation of a Greater Production farm, Indian labour had been used at the expense of their own farms. In addition, the agent virtually took over all the Bloods' farm machinery at great inconvenience to them. Scott tried to dismiss most of their complaints as exaggerations, although he did concede that there had been some mismanagement.[36] Generally speaking, the increased wartime food production had not bettered the Indians' economic conditions. Wartime technological innovations had, in fact, brought about changes in farm machinery that left the Indians farther behind in economic development. Adding to the problem, the government failed to extend credit programs to them to allow the Indians to purchase farm equipment and to improve their own lands.[37] A credit plan might have permitted many Indians to at least remain on par with non-Indians. Without financial help they had neither the capital nor the knowledge to take advantage of the new mechanical innovations.[38]

Instead of reaping any benefits during and after the war, native veterans and their families found instead that they were excluded from many of the regular wartime and post-war programs. They were considered to be wards of the government, and therefore the responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs and not the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment. The Blood Indian agent's correspondence in 1917 provides an example of the problem of extending payments from the Patriotic Fund to families of Indian servicemen overseas. Blood Indian agent W.J. Dilworth was informed by the Macleod chapter of the Patriotic Fund that,

> The dependants of these Indian soldiers are wards of the Government, and draw living rations from the Government and have no rents to pay, hence since they are a charge on the Government of Canada, and as the Government of Canada is responsible for their maintenance, and for these reasons we cannot recommend that they participate in the distribution of Patriotic Funds.[39]

Dilworth relayed the contents of the letter to McLean, suggesting the matter be taken up with the head office of the fund. To his credit, Scott brought the complaint to the attention of the assistant secretary of the fund. At a regular meeting of the committee it was finally decided that "families of Indians who have enlisted be treated in the same manner as those of other nationalities."[40]

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[34] Graham was related, through his wife, to Arthur Meighen who supported the Greater Production farms against Scott's better judgement. The relationship is outlined in Donald B. Smith, *Long Lance: The True Story of an Impostor* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982), 264.

[35] Robert N. Wilson, *Our Betrayed Wards — A Story of Chicanery, Infidelity and the Prostitution of Trust* (Ottawa: privately printed, 1921).

[36] Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 41-42; Dempsey, "The Indians and World War One," 5-7.

[37] Michael L. Tate, "From Scout to Doughboy: The National Debate over Integrating American Indians into the Military, 1891-1918," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (October 1986): 434.

[38] Samek, *The Blackfoot Confederacy*, 372.

[39] NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-2, 2, letter, Philip Morris, Asst. Secretary Canadian Patriotic Fund, to D.C. Scott, March 1917; Glenbow Archives (GA), Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 16, file 122, letter, W.J. Dilworth to J.D. McLean, February 20, 1917.

Initially the Indians benefitted little from the 1917 Soldier Settlement Act which allowed veterans to obtain land and farming implements at a low rate of interest.[41] As the influx of immigrants at the turn of the century had taken most available Crown land, new land had to be found. W.A. Buchanan, the member of Parliament from Medicine Hat, suggested during the debate over the bill that "there are lands occupied on lease and used as Indian reserves that would suit this particular purpose..."[42] His suggestion was accepted. The revised Soldier Settlement Act of 1919 made the following reference to Indian reserve land:

> The Board may acquire from His Majesty by purchase, upon terms not inconsistent with those of the release or surrender, any Indian lands which, under the Indian Act, have been validly released or surrendered.[43]

Graham had the most success in securing treaty lands from the Indians for the Soldier Settlement Board. Some 85,000 acres, particularly in Saskatchewan, were among the lands surrendered and sold for $1 million.[44] Newspapers of the day carried stories extolling Graham's work; but not everyone praised it. J.A. Newnham, the Anglican Bishop of Saskatchewan, wrote Scott about Graham's actions on the Ochapowace Reserve:

> Mr. Graham, who has "Greater Production" on the brain is intending and hoping to transfer them [the Indians] to some Sioux Reserve near Dundurn, and to hand their Reserve over to Soldier Settlement, or some such thing. I beg to enclose their protest most heartily, and to urge that nothing of the sort be done.[45]

However, the Bishop's protest failed and the government eventually sold the reserve.

The 1919 Soldiers Settlement Act, which included Indians, gave veterans wishing to farm an opportunity to obtain Dominion lands or to purchase farms.[46] Indian veterans in western Canada soon learned, however, that the Act conflicted with an amendment to the Indian Act of 1906 which stated:

> No Indian or non-treaty Indian resident in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, or the Territories shall be held capable of having acquired or of acquiring a homestead or pre-emption right under any Act respecting Dominion lands, to a quarter section... in and surveyed or unsurveyed land in the said provinces or territories.[47]

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[40] GA, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 16, file 122, letter, D.C. Scott to W.J. Dilworth, April 18, 1917.

[41] Wright, "Rifles to Ploughshares," 8.

[42] Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 28.

[43] The Canadian Soldier Settlement Act, 1919, Section 10.

[44] Indian land was not the only property purchased or acquired by the government for the Board. The Doukhobor reserves in Saskatchewan were bought in 1917. All remaining Dominion lands within fifteen miles of rail transportation, grazing leases, school lands, Hudson's Bay Company reserve land, and forest reserves, such as sections of the Porcupine Forestry Reserve were also given to the Board. See NA, RG 2, Series 1, vol. 957, orders in council, PC 2659, October 30, 1918; Wright, "Rifles to Ploughshares," 10; E.C. Morgan, "Soldier Settlement in the Prairie Provinces," *Saskatchewan History* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1968): 51-52.

[45] Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers*, 35-36.

[46] Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 34.

[47] Indian Act 1906, Chapter 81, Section 164.

This anomaly was quickly brought to light when the majority of Indian veterans expressed an interest in farming under the Act on their own reserves.[48] Finally the authorities, on Graham's suggestion,[49] made arrangements allowing the Indian Department to take over the administration of the Soldier Settlement Act for Indian veterans.[50]

This led to other complications, as reserve land could be provided for personal use, but could not be owned by a veteran. Although Indian veterans now qualified for loans, a clause in the Indian Act remained an obstacle for them to be granted land. Alexander Brass attempted to avoid the problem by requesting land outside of his reserve. In a letter to the Department he stated:

> I hereby make application to leave the reserve and relinquish my rights therein. I have been living on the Peepeekesis Reserve for eight years before enlistment. Over three years I was working at the File Hills Indian Agency under Inspector Graham and over four years I was on a farm in the Colony, and I have the last three years served overseas in the Army. And I find that I'm not satisfied to resume work where I had left off before joining up. I wish to be exactly on the same footing as the settlers outside of Reserves. In this I have every confidence in myself, that I'm capable of handling my own affairs. Judging by my past experiences in different occupations, whether for myself or for someone else, I think I'm safe in saying that I have proved good. I understand that there are privileges for returned soldiers, and as I like farming or ranching, I would follow on these lines. In the Army, oftimes, I was entrusted with very responsible work. In the struggle for liberty I tried to do my little bit, and because of having learnt its meaning, I beg of you, to grant me my request and right, by letting [me] be my own master. I may say I held the rank of Corporal and have been awarded the Military Medal. I have some money in the office and have always been self supporting. All the above is true and it's my hope that it will meet with your approval, and your reply at an early date.[51]

Brass gained the opportunity of starting a farm off the reserve. He made a success of it for fifteen years, but during the Depression he was unable to repay his loan and was forced to return to his reserve.[52]

Another Indian veteran, Samuel White Cap from the Assiniboine Agency in Saskatchewan, applied to the Soldier Settlement Board for land off his reserve. The agent was of the opinion that White Cap was not capable of taking up land on his own and urged that better results would be obtained if a grant was given him to start on the reserve, under the strict supervision of the agent.[53] This suggestion ran into opposition, not only from the Indian Act, but also from the band council. It refused to pass a resolution granting White Cap the location upon which he was settled, on the grounds that if he defaulted on his loan it could lead to the alienation of reserve lands.[54] Scott intervened, and against the wishes of the band he granted White Cap the location, stating that the land set aside had never been claimed or located to anyone in the past.[55] As it turned out White Cap eventually failed, and the land reverted to the band.[56]

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[48] NA, RG 10, vol. 7527, file 25,136-1; ibid., vol. 6771, file 452-29, letter, T.H. Carter, Fisher River Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, April 21, 1919; letter, W. Murison, Touchwood Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, April 8, 1919.

[49] Ibid., vol. 7484, file 25,001, pt.1, letter, D.C. Scott to Arthur Meighen, October 15, 1918. In the letter, Graham suggested to "have the Indians provided with land on reserves and to be under the supervision of the Department and to leave available land outside of reserves for other applicants."

[50] Ibid., vol. 7524, file 25,102-1, letter, J.D. McLean to James McDonald, Griswold Indian agent, March 28, 1919; GA, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 14, file 120, Department of Indian Affairs form letter to agents, May 6, 1919. This document includes the conditions whereby an Indian veteran would be granted a loan.

[51] Ibid., file 25,111-2, pt. 1, letter, Alexander Brass to Department of Indian Affairs, no date.

[52] Ibid., vol. 7525, file 25,111-6, pt. 1, letter, W.M. Graham, Indian Commissioner, to J.D. McLean, January 19, 1923; ibid., vol. 7524, file 25,111-2, pt. 1, letter, G.A. Dodds, File Hills Indian agent, to Secretary, Dept. of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, July 27, 1938.

On the prairies, only one in ten Indians who applied was granted a loan from the Soldier Settlement Board. The majority of those receiving money did quite well. According to information provided by the Indian Department in 1921:

> The Indians have turned out to be excellent farmers, and the department of Indian affairs has been surprised at their eagerness to secure their land from all encumbrances. Although only the first years' payments are due so far, many of the Indians have far over-paid these obligations and a number have practically liquidated their entire debts.[57]

Using the Department's list of payments by Indian soldier settlers for 1922-23, it is evident that of the twenty-three men documented from the West, ten had paid off their loan, while nine made payments in 1923, leaving only four in arrears.[58] The question remains, could the program have been expanded, with some imagination, to include more Indian veterans? Sadly, the files of several veterans who were refused loans reveal clearly that the Indian Department did not want to take any risk, and recommended very few Indian applications.[59]

If the war did little for the western Canadian Indians' economic status, it did improve their political awareness. Participation in the war had inevitably brought Indians from across Canada into contact with one another and created closer bonds among them while at the same time promoting a new feeling of self-worth. Receiving decorations and commendations, and serving alongside other Canadians, gave many Indians the confidence to speak for themselves. Reflecting their new awareness of nationhood, Indian veterans worked in 1919, and in the early 1920s, to help form the League of Indians of Canada, in hopes of improving conditions on the reserves.[60] The League was the first pan-Indian organization in the country.

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[53] Ibid., vol. 7524, file 25,102-3, pt. 1, letter, Thomas Donnelly, Assiniboine Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, May 8, 1919.

[54] Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 45. However, the Indian Act was amended in 1922 to eliminate the ambiguity which had upset the Assiniboines.

[55] Ibid., 45; NA, RG 10, vol. 7524, file 25,102-3, pt. 1, letter, J.D. McLean to R.D. Wilson, February 16, 1922.

[56] NA, RG 10, vol. 7524, file 25,102-3, pt. 1, letter, R.D. Wilson to J.D. McLean, October 17, 1922; ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to R.D. Wilson, November 14, 1922.

[57] *Lethbridge Herald*, August 29, 1921.

[58] NA, RG 10, vol. 7484, file 25,000-101, pt.1, letter, D.C. Scott to W.M. Graham, Indian Commissioner, April 25, 1923; ibid., letter, D.C. Scott to W.M. Graham, February 5, 1924.

[59] For examples see GA, Blood Agency Papers, M1788, box 14, file 120, letter, Blood Indian agent to The Great War Veteran's Association, August 11, 1920; NA, RG 10, vol. 7524, file 25,102-3, pt. 1, letter, Thomas Donnelly, Assiniboine Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, May 8, 1919; ibid., file 25,102-1, letter, James McDonald, Griswold Indian agent, to J.D. McLean, March 17, 1919; ibid., file 25,102-1, letter, J.D. McLean to James McDonald, March 28, 1919; ibid., vol. 6786, file 452-436, letter, W.D. Sugden-Swang, Secretary Treasurer Great War Veteran's Association, to D.C. Scott, March 8, 1922; ibid., letter, J.B. Harding, Touchwood Indian agent, to D.C. Scott, March 22, 1922.

Duncan Campbell Scott's view that progressive Indians should be enfranchised, and particularly his desire to secure enfranchisement "without the necessity of obtaining their consent," raised much protest. Canada's Indians sought better educational facilities rather than enfranchisement. In fact they thought that enfranchisement would mean the disintegration of the Indian people.[61] Frederick Loft, a Mohawk Indian, drew up the guiding principles of the League. He had served as a lieutenant in the Forestry Corps and had had the opportunity to talk with many Indians from all over Canada while in the service. He saw the need for a national organization through which the tribes might be unified, and voice their opinions on contemporary Indian matters.[62]

The League's constitution recognized the authority of the Crown. It also emphasized a need for "the perpetuation of the memory of those who died in the War, and proper provision for their dependents."[63] Also prominent in the League's objectives was a desire to cooperate with the federal government. Loft became the League's first president. In September 1919 it held its first meeting at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, and the second in June 1920, at Elphinstone, Manitoba. A meeting for the Saskatchewan Indians was held in the following year.[64] After 1922 the organization held its annual meetings in the West as the western Canadian Indians became the most active members.[65]

The League sought to attain equality for the Indian as a Canadian citizen — equality, that is, in both privilege and responsibility. To achieve this objective, the main emphasis was to improve educational and health programs.[66] The League defined "equality" as having the privileges and responsibilities of a citizen, but did not include the absorption or assimilation of Indians into the mainstream Canadian society. When explaining the feelings of Indian veterans, Loft stated:

> During the late war, there was to be found among them sufficient self-determination and a beautiful sense of duty and responsibility as to impel them to come forward and render noble service to the king, country, and Empire without being conscripted... Since they too have fought, bled and died for the great cause, the simple recompense they ask is a just and fair dealing for themselves at the hands of governments, greater in the future than has [been] obtained in the past.[67]

Scott, however, saw the League as an annoyance, an irritation, and an impediment to efficient administration. Its proposals stood in direct opposition to established Departmental policy. Initially the Deputy Superintendent-General felt that the League would dissolve if the Department refused to cooperate with it. To hasten its demise, he directed his agents to avoid all contact and support of it, and to pressure their wards to refrain from any correspondence with Loft.[68] The growth of the League in western Canada particularly disturbed Commissioner W.M. Graham. He was concerned about the political implications of the movement, and also the fact that the League's rallies distracted the Indians from their farm work during the summer months.[69]

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[60] Grant, "Indian Affairs under Duncan Campbell Scott," 34; Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 101.

[61] Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree*, 122.

[62] Ibid, 123.

[63] Edmonds, "Canada's Red Army," 341.

[64] Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree*, 124.

[65] Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 106.

[66] Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree*, 123-24; *Calgary Albertan*, June 26, 1922. In the article Loft sets out the goals of the League.

[67] Frederick O. Loft, "The Indian Problem," *Woman's Century* (c. 1920): 6.

Although the League did not receive the cooperation it desired, it continued to pressure the federal government for changes to better the Indians' situation. In the area of education, many of its proposals would be implemented, but not for two or three decades.[70] The League did, however, help to achieve the repeal of a federal bill in 1920 which had established compulsory enfranchisement.[71] This was indeed a victory, but in the 1930s the federal government simply re-introduced the clause into the Indian Act. The League also helped to bring native problems to the forefront since the federal government did so little for natives and in particular for Indian war veterans.

When Scott concluded his essay on the Indians' participation in World War I, he expressed his belief that Indians were now "beginning a new era."[72] In reality, the situation of western Canadian Indians remained relatively unchanged from what it had been prior to the war and, in fact, during the 1920s it deteriorated. Scott had concluded that:

> The Indians themselves, moreover, cannot but feel an increased and renewed pride of race and self-respect that should ensure the recovery of that ancient dignity and independence of spirit that were unfortunately lost to them in some measure through the depletion of the game supply,... and the ravages of vices... of the white man. The Indians deserve well of Canada, and the end of the war should mark the beginning of a new era for them wherein they shall play an increasingly honourable and useful part in the history of a country that was once the free and open hunting ground of their forefathers.[73]

Scott's statement held out the hope for Indians that changes would be forthcoming; however, these did not materialize. Instead, the Indians were relegated to their pre-war status as wards of the federal government, under the domination of the Indian Department. They did not even qualify for the same benefits and programs available to non-Indian veterans.[74] It appeared that Indian soldiers were good enough to fight and die for Canada but they were not "civilized" enough to have the rights of Canadian citizens.

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[68] Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 104.

[69] Ibid., 107

[70] Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree*, 131-35.

[71] *Calgary Albertan*, June 26, 1922.

[72] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 327-28.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Even into the 1930s Indian veterans were denied the benefits of other veterans. The Department of Veterans Affairs declared in the spring of 1932 that the War Veterans' Allowance Act did not apply to Indian veterans residing on reserves because they were viewed as being no different from any other Indian on a reserve. See NA, RG 10, vol. 6762, file 452-1, 5, letter, Murray MacLaren, Minister of Pensions and National Health, to T.G. Murphy, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, April 5, 1932.

CONCLUSION

Based on surviving source materials, Indians in the prairie provinces appear to have enlisted for three principal reasons. The outbreak of World War I provided a legitimate opportunity for their warrior spirit to resurface and to again take a prominent role in a male's life. Also, the long standing association with the British Empire (mainly through the signing of the treaties) also contributed to the desire of many Indians to participate in the European war. The Indians perceived any deceptions and unfulfilled promises following the treaties as the fault of the Canadian government and not of the Monarch. They were, therefore, willing to fight for the British Crown, rather than for Ottawa. These two elements — the survival of the warrior spirit and the Indians' identification with the Crown — appear to have been the primary motives for western Canadian Indians taking part in the European conflict. Finally, the war also provided an avenue of escape from the monotony and confinement of boarding school and reserve existence.

Indian enlistment was entirely voluntary throughout the war, although for a short period of time they were subject to the Military Service Act. Their exemption, however, had little effect on recruitment. The number of native enlistees from the West remained high for the 1916-1918 period, even though non-Indian enlistment declined.

Western Canadian tribal councils opposed forced enlistment on principle and out of a concern for their declining populations. Contributions to the war funds became for many bands a way of proving their loyalty and at the same time "buying" their young men out of the service. Yet, even though native elders wished their men to remain at home, they had no formal power over them. Traditionally, participation in warfare was entirely voluntary. A number, like Mike Foxhead from the Blackfoot Reserve, signed up against the elders' wishes.

The war's long duration contributed to the high percentage of native enlistees. Initially the Canadian Army made no attempt to recruit them for overseas duty, believing that they would not be needed. Increasing casualities and declining enlistments, however, suddenly led the government to change its mind. Before the war, officials of the Indian Department had prided themselves on their success at extinquishing the native value system, but then officials had to admit that the warrior ethic remained "naturally" in the young men, and would insure that the Indians — especially those from the West — would make fine soldiers. The Canadian Army then carried out active recruiting campaigns on the various reserves with the Indian Department's blessing and help.

Once in the army, surviving evidence indicates that Indian soldiers performed well. A number of Canada's most notable snipers were Indians from the West, a duty which gained them much recognition and prestige. Due to their excellence as snipers, observers, scouts, and members of raiding parties during the war, Canadian Indians were later used again in this type of role in World War II.

For all of their contributions to the war effort, Indians received little in return; in fact the war even resulted in them losing some of their rights. Due to the need for increased agricultural production, for example, the government introduced the "Greater Production" program making reserve lands available to white farmers.

The federal government also altered the Indian Act to allow reserve land to be leased out without the Indians' consent. Indian labour and farm machinery were used on these lease farms for little or no compensation. These actions continued into the post-war era when reserve lands became a primary means for the federal government to obtain land for its Soldier Settlement program.

When Indian veterans finally returned home, they were viewed as heroes worthy of a warrior's status and the respect which accompanied it. The Indian agents, however, now saw them as competition to their authority. In part, their fears proved correct. Native veterans participated in the formation of the League of Indians of Canada, the first pan-Indian political association. This organization did not obtain the approval of the Indian Department, which, in fact, worked to subdue its influence and to destroy it. For some members of the Indian Department the rise of the League and the new status of the Indian veterans appeared to indicate that the fight to eradicate native values (and their desire for self-determination) had to be started over from the beginning.

After the war, Canadian society continued to believe that the Indians were dying out as a race. The white society that had pushed them to one side and denied them political and social equality saw them as a vanishing people who had little need for all of their reserve lands. Duncan Campbell Scott himself held this opinion and believed that the Indians did not require the "excess" land that was then sold for the Soldier Settlement program. The Indian administration during the 1920s and 1930s returned to the policy of the pre-war era. It concerned itself with preserving the status quo rather than with improving the economic and social status of the Indians.

Between 1914 and 1918, more than 400 western Canadian natives enlisted and fought for Canada. They suffered casualties at a rate greater than that of the non-Indian Canadian soldiers who fought overseas. For their sacrifice they gained little in return. The Canadian populace returned to the practice of ignoring them while the Indian Department, after the "great wai for democracy," again worked to eradicate vestiges of their culture and to replace it with European and Judeo-Christian values. The Department also resumed its efforts to root out the very cultural value that it had glorified during the conflict: the western Canadian Indian's war ethic. Yet, success appears to have eluded the Department, for when war broke out in Europe in 1939, western Canadian Indians readily joined the armed forces. Their continuing warrior ethic, combined with the chance of escaping from the reserves, led many young western Canadian Indians to enlist once again.

APPENDIX A

Prairie Indian Enlistees of World War I

These statistics have been compiled using available information and therefore may not be complete.

ALBERTA

Blackfoot Agency

FOXHEAD, CYRIL, Private (or Cyril Old Woman at War, or Cyril Olds). 191st Btn. Served in Canada. Discharged 8 March 1917 at age 25.

FOXHEAD, MIKE, Private, 895403 (or Mike Many Bears). Enlisted 9 October 1916 at age 18. 191st Btn. and 50th Btn. Arrived in France 16 September 1917. Killed between 23 and 26 October 1917.

Also, 15 unidentified men enlisted but were discharged at the request of the elders.

Blood Agency

BRUISED HEAD, PETER. Enlisted September 1918 at Calgary. Served in Canada.

BUMBLE BEE. Served briefly in the 191st Btn. Remained in Canada.

COMING SINGER, GEORGE, Private, 895373. Enlisted March 1916 at age 22. 191st Btn. and 50th Btn. Fought with a machine gun section. Wounded July 1918. Died of wounds in England, 14 January 1919.

CROW CHIEF, JOE, Private, 895282. Enlisted March 1916 at age 22. 191st Btn. and 50th Btn. Fought with a machine gun section. Wounded August 1918. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

DEVINE, JOSEPH GABRIEL, Private, 13571. Born 3 May 1886. Enlisted 31 March 1915. 13th Btn. Discharged as medically unfit.

ELY, JOE. 191st Btn. Enlisted at age 28.

KING, JOE. 191st Btn.

KING, NICK, Private, 895178. Enlisted 24 June 1916 at age 29. 191st Btn. and 50th Btn. Wounded July 1918.

MILLS, DAVID, Private, 895410. Enlisted May 1916. 191st Btn. Developed pneumonia at Halifax. Discharged as medically unfit, 31 October 1917. He was dead by 13 May 1918.

MOONEY, HAROLD, Private, 895401 (or Harold Chief Moon). Enlisted March 1916. 191st Btn. and 50th Btn.

MOUNTAIN HORSE, ALBERT, Lieutenant. 10th Btn. and 3rd AMC and 1st Div. Transport Driver. Gassed at St. Julien and developed tuberculosis. Died in Quebec en route home, 25 November 1915 at age 22.

MOUNTAIN HORSE, JOE, Corporal, 895258. Enlisted 15 July 1916 at age 29. 191st Btn. and 50th Btn. Wounded at Arras, October 1917, at Passchendaele, and at Cambrai. Discharged, 1 May 1919. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

MOUNTAIN HORSE, MIKE, Corporal, 895041. Enlisted May 1916 at age 26. 191st Btn. and 50th Btn. Shell shocked, October 1917 at Cambrai, and later wounded at Cambrai.

ONLY CHIEF, JIM, Private, 892292. Enlisted July 1916 at age 27. 191st Btn. Deserted January 1917 and May 1918.

PLUME, LAURIE, Private, 895203. Enlisted May 1916 at age 20. 191st. Btn. Deserted January 1917 and May 1918.

STRANGLING WOLF, GEORGE, Private, 895180. Enlisted 26 January 1916 at age 22. 191st Btn. and 50th Btn. Gassed at Vimy Ridge, 13 December 1917. Died at age 70.

WHITE BULL, JIM, Private, 895201. Enlisted July 1916 at age 24. 191st Btn. Discharged as medically unfit, June 1917.

Edmonton Agency

BEARHEAD, SAMUEL, 905186. Born 31 March 1898. Paul's Band. Enlisted 6 October 1916.

CALLIHOO, WILLIAM. Joined the Siberian force.

KOOTENAY, ALBERT, Private, 904784 (or Albert Kootenhayo). Born 21 May 1892. Joseph (Alexis) Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 25 March 1916. 138th Btn. and 10th Btn. Died in a military sanatorium at Frank, Alberta, 11 February 1919.

THOMAS, ADAM, Private, 279804. Born 17 January 1892. Occupation, farmer. Enoch Reserve. Enlisted 10 November 1916. 218th Btn. Served in France. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

THOMAS, BAPTISTE, 279855. Enoch Reserve. 218th Btn. Served in France. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

WARD, HENRY, Private, 279662. Enoch Reserve. Enlisted 10 June 1916. 218th Btn. Gassed. Suffered from permanent injury and poor eyesight after he returned to Canada.

Fort Smith Agency

SALMON, ROBERT, Sergeant. 49th Btn. Fort Smith Reserve. Killed 2 June 1916.

Hobbema Agency

CRANE, PETER, Private, 892362. Louis Bull Reserve. 190th Btn. Given an honourable discharge after developing rheumatism.

DESCHAMPS, JOSEPH, Private, 258960. Enlisted 30 October 1916. 211th Btn. Honourable discharge.

JOSHUA, DANIEL, Private, 883487. Samson Reserve. Enlisted 23 January 1916. 187th Btn. Developed consumption, died 6 May 1917 in England on his way home.

LAROCQUE, HENRY, Private, 883706. Enlisted 2 October 1916. 187th Btn. Died of pneumonia in Halifax on 15 January 1917.

ROASTING, JAMES, Private, 258686. Ermineskin Reserve. 211th Btn. Deserted.

YOUNG, JOSEPH, Private, 913811. Samson Reserve. Enlisted 30 November 1916 at age 23. 197th Btn. and 11th Btn. and Forestry Corps. Arrived in France 4 April 1917. Honourable discharge 26 March 1919. Died 31 May 1966.

Peigan Agency

BORN WITH A TOOTH, SAM. 13th Canadian Mounted Rifles. Served only a few months. Discharged as medically unfit.

LITTLE PLUME, THOMAS, Private, 898369. Born 1 April 1888. Enlisted 6 April 1916. 192nd Btn. and 13th Canadian Mounted Rifles. Deserted.

PRAIRIE HEN, MAURICE, Private, 1028291. Born 10 January 1898. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted at Calgary, 2 February 1917.

PROVOST, CHARLIE, 228205. Enlisted in 1916. 13th Canadian Mounted Rifles and Canadian Light Horse. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

PROVOST, NAPOLEON, 228203. Enlisted in 1916. 13th Canadian Mounted Rifles and Canadian Light Horse. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

PROVOST, PETE, Corporal, 731635. Enlisted 1914. 43rd Btn. and 13th Canadian Mounted Rifles. Killed 16 August 1917.

SHINING DOUBLE, JOE. Enlisted 1916 and went overseas to England. 13th Canadian Mounted Rifles. Discharged as medically unfit.

WOLF TALK, SIDNEY, Private, 898363. Born 23 July 1889. Occupation, assistant blacksmith. Enlisted 5 April 1916. 192nd Btn. Previously served a few months in 13th Canadian Mounted Rifles. Discharged as medically unfit.

Saddle Lake Agency

GLADUE, JOSEPH, Private. Beaver Lake Reserve. Depot Btn. Discharged 3 November 1918.

HUNTER, LAWRENCE. Discharged as medically unfit.

MAKOKIS, ENEAS, Private, 895531. Born 9 August 1897. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 30 January 1917. 191st Btn. and 50th Btn. Killed 2 September 1918.

MAKOKIS, FRANK, Private, 883785. Born 7 August 1898. Enlisted 21 November 1916. 187th Btn. Discharged because he was underage.

NORWEST, HENRY, Private, 435684. Fort Saskatchewan and Beaver Lake Reserve. Enlisted 8 September 1915 at age 29. 50th Btn. Awarded the Military Medal and Bar, British War Medal, and Victory Medal. Fought as a sniper with 115 observed hits. Killed 18 August 1918.

QUINNIE, JOSEPH, Private, 15521 (or Joseph Quinn). Born 13 September 1884. Blue Quills Reserve. Enlisted Canadian Army Service Corps on 24 September 1914. Previously served one year in the 22nd Saskatchewan Light Horse. Killed 5 November 1918.

SEENUM, LOUIS, 883784. James Seenum Reserve. 187th Btn. Discharged because he was underage.

SEENUM, NED, 883783. James Seenum Reserve. 187th Btn. Discharged because he was underage.

STEINHAUER, MARK ERNEST, Private, 904940. Born 11 February 1894. Enlisted 5 April 1916. 8th Btn. and 187th Quebec Btn. Wounded in the right hand 21 November 1917. Discharged 5 June 1919.

STEINHAUER, PETER. Discharged as medically unfit.

WOOD, LOUIS, 1021233. Born in June 1897. Blue Quills Reserve. Occupation, teamster. Served in 258th Btn., 233 Btn. and 2nd Quebec Btn. Promoted to Acting Sergeant. Wounded 14 August 1918 and again on 1 October 1918. Wounded in right leg and bullet not removed. Invalided to Edmonton Military Hospital, Canada, 23 May 1919. Awarded Military Medal, 9 August 1919. Discharged 15 November 1919.

Sarcee Agency

Three unidentified men enlisted but were discharged at the request of the chief.

SASKATCHEWAN

Assiniboine Agency

ARTIST, ANGUS, Private, 276291. Born in 1896. Carry The Kettle Reserve. Enlisted May 1916. 217th Btn. Overseas and discharged 14 May 1917 as medically unfit. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

GREY, MALCOLM, Private, 105604. Carry The Kettle Reserve. Enlisted in November 1915. 68th Btn. and 5th Btn. Killed on 26 or 27 September 1916.

WHITE CAP, LEWIS SAMUEL, Private, 276290. Carry The Kettle Reserve. Enlisted 9 May 1916 at age 26. 217th Btn. and 6th Btn. Gassed. Discharged 9 August 1918. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

Battleford Agency

BALLENDINE, JOHN HENRY, Private, 718806 (or John Ballentyne). Born 26 March 1884. Enlisted 6 March 1916. 8th Btn. Fought as a sniper.

BAPTISTE, EDWARD, Private, 887804. Thunderchild Reserve. Enlisted 12 January 1916. 232nd Btn. Served in Canada.

DECOTEAU, ALEXANDER, Private. Red Pheasant Reserve. Occupation, policeman. Enlisted April 1916 at age 29. 49th Btn. Killed 30 October 1917 at Passchendaele.

HIGGINS, HARRY, Corporal. Sweet Grass Reserve. Wounded twice. Discharged as a lance-corporal.

JIMMY, DAVID, Private, 1018700. Thunderchild Reserve. Enlisted 3 March 1917. 232nd Btn. Served in Canada.

SIMAGONIS, AUGUSTINE, 1018372. Poundmaker Reserve. 232nd Btn. Died 1942.

STANDING HORN, NORMAN, Private, 887842. Sweet Grass Reserve. Enlisted 6 December 1915. 232nd Btn. Died January 1965.

WHITE, LOUIS, Private, 1018731 (or Louis White Cloud). Born 20 June 1892. Sweetgrass Reserve. Enlisted 2 April 1917. 232nd Btn. and 5th Btn. Killed 1 September 1917.

Carlton Agency

ARCAND, JOHN BAPTISTE, 1018229. Born 4 March 1896. Petaquakey Reserve. 232nd Btn. Discharged as medically unfit.

ARCAND, LOUIS, 1018306. Born 8 December 1880. Petaquakey Reserve. 232nd Btn. Discharged as medically unfit.

ARCAND, LOUIS, Sergeant, 1018502. Born 16 July 1897. Petaquakey Reserve. Enlisted 1 June 1916. 232nd Btn. and 5th Btn. Wounded.

BADGER, JACOB, 1018688. Mistawasis Reserve. Enlisted 12 February 1917. 232nd Btn. and 5th Btn. Gassed which resulted in permanent injury to his chest and lungs when he returned to Canada.

BEAUCHENE, LOUIS, Private, 696415. Mistawasis Reserve. Enlisted 19 May 1916. 175th Btn. and 50th Btn. Killed 26 October 1918.

BIG MAN, ALEXANDER, Private, 886430 (also known as Alex Misteyenew). Born 13 December 1893. Occupation, bookkeeper. Enlisted 3 March 1916. 188th Btn. and 46th Btn. Killed 6 February 1917.

BIRD, JOHN, Private, 886102. Born 27 November 1897. Montreal Lake Reserve. Occupation, trapper. Enlisted 28 January 1916. 107th Btn. and 188th Btn.

BIRD, WILLIAM, Private, 913841. Born 3 March 1887. Mistawasis Reserve. Occupation, lumberjack. Enlisted 28 December 1916. 197th Btn.

BLACK, ALEXANDER, 886406. Born 19 February 1895. Mistawasis Reserve. Enlisted 19 February 1916. 188th Btn. and 107th Btn. Received wounds which resulted in permanent injury to his chest and lungs when he returned to Canada.

CAMPBELL, ROBERT, 1018620. Mistawasis Reserve. 232nd Btn. Served in Canada.

CARDINAL, C.C., 886405. Sturgeon Lake Reserve. Discharged as medically unfit.

DANIELS, NORBERT, 1018514. Mistawasis Reserve. Enlisted 22 June 1916. 232nd Btn.

DREAVER, FRANK NICKLE, Private, 886471. Born 16 December 1892. Mistawasis Reserve. Enlisted 15 March 1916. 188th Btn. and 5th Btn. Killed 5 April 1917.

DREAVER, JOSEPH, Corporal, 886518. Born 2 June 1891. Mistawasis Reserve. Enlisted 25 March 1916. 107th Btn. and 3rd Btn. He arrived in France on 25 February 1917 and attended the First Army School of Mines. He was promoted to corporal 1 July 1917 and awarded the Military Medal 30 November 1918. He was discharged 7 May 1919.

DREAVER, WILLIAM FREDERICK, 1018677. Born 31 March 1883. Mistawasis Reserve. Enlisted 4 January 1917. 232nd Btn.

FLAMEND, JOHN, Private, 1018451. Born 16 May 1896. Muskeg Lake Reserve. Enlisted 8 June 1916. 232nd Btn. Died 18 April 1921.

GIRRARD, JOHN, Private, 472611 (or John Gerard). Muskeg Lake Reserve. 65th Btn. and 46th Btn. Killed 14 February 1917.

GRAY EYES, LOUIS, 1018243. Petaquakey Reserve. 232nd Btn. Discharged as medically unfit.

LEDOUX, ISADORE, 1018704. Petaquakey Reserve. Enlisted 2 March 1917. 232nd Btn. and BCRT. Gassed which resulted in permanent injury to his heart when he returned to Canada.

McCREADY, ED. Onion Lake Reserve. No information located.

MASASKAPEW, CHARLES, Private, 1051098. Ahtahkakoop Reserve. Enlisted 20 July 1916. 243rd Btn. and 28th Btn. Killed 9 August 1918 at age 22.

MONGRAW, ADAM, Private, 1018691 (or Adam Montgrand). Onion Lake Reserve. Enlisted 17 February 1917. 232nd Btn.

SANDERSON, NORMAN, Private, 1018690. Born 10 August 1895. Mistawasis Reserve. Occupation, farmer and trapper. Enlisted 5 February 1917. 232nd Btn. and 5th Btn. Awarded the Military Medal, 13 November 1918. Discharged 24 April 1919.

SANDERSON, WILLIAM B., 1018697. Muskeg Lake Reserve. Enlisted 23 February 1917. 232nd Btn. and 28th Btn. Died in 1921.

STAR BLANKET, THOMAS. Ahtahkakoop Reserve. Discharged as medically unfit.

Crooked Lake Agency

BEAR, JOSEPH, 1069595. Born 5 August 1898. Ochapawace Reserve. Enlisted 21 March 1917. 249th Btn. Served in Canada.

BEAR, ROBERT, 1069464. Ochapawace Reserve. Enlisted 17 February 1917 at age of 18. 249th Btn. Served in Canada.

DELORME, DANIEL, 1069651. Cowessess Reserve. 249th Btn. Served in Canada.

GADDIE, GEORGE, Private, 1069463. Born 13 June 1897. Cowessess Reserve. Enlisted 17 February 1917. 249th Btn.

GADDIE, GILBERT, Private, 888504. Born 21 February 1876. Cowessess Reserve. Enlisted 24 April 1916. 197th Btn.

GADDIE, WILLIAM, 1069461. Born 15 March 1898. Cowessess Reserve. Enlisted 17 February 1917. 249th Btn. Special Service Corps in Regina. Deserter. Struck off strength 14 October 1917.

ISAAC, WILFRED, 1069496. Born 12 April 1898. Kahkewistahaw Reserve. Enlisted 21 March 1917. 249th Btn. Served in Canada. Discharged 31 March 1918 as "medically unfit -sickness."

McKAY, FRED, 1069462 (or Fred Ahetapew). Born 15 April 1886. Head man of Kahkewistahaw Reserve. Occupation, teacher. Enlisted 17 February 1917. 249th Btn. Promoted to corporal and qualified for lieutenant. Went on leave 22 October 1917 and wired for an extension. When this was refused he deserted but arranged to transfer to the Forestry Unit because of his health. He was discharged 12 April 1918 as "medically unfit - sickness."

McKAY, STANLEY, 718817. Born 21 August 1885. Crooked Lakes Reserve. Enlisted 17 March 1916. 107th Btn. Deserted 13 August 1916 from the Clearing Depot.

RAINVILLE, MICHAEL JOSEPH, 1069649. Born 5 August 1897, son of Pakonaykesekohk. Sasimay Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 31 March 1917. 249th Btn. Remained in Canada. Deserted and struck off strength 25 April 1918.

RODERICK, HENRY, 1069528 (or Henry Allary). Ochapawace Reserve. 249th Btn. Deserted.

Duck Lake Agency

BADGER, HARRY, Private, 1051104. John Smith Reserve. Enlisted 17 July 1916. 243rd Btn. and 28th Btn. Wounded November 1917 at Passchendaele. Discharged 6 December 1918 due to tuberculosis. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

BEAR, GILBERT, Private, 1069560. Born 11 November 1895. John Smith Reserve. Occupation, teamster. Enlisted 15 March 1917.

BEAR, GILBERT JAMES, Private, 886412. Born 25 December 1887. John Smith Reserve. Enlisted 15 March 1917. 188 Btn. and 2nd Engineers. Wounded, shot in the back.

BIRD, JOHN, Private, 886082. Born 1 January 1885. John Smith Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 22 November 1916. 197th Btn.

BLOOMFIELD, FRED, Private, 1051377. Born 3 October 1875. Muskoday Reserve. Enlisted 6 October 1916. 243rd Btn. Discharged 6 February 1917.

BRITTAIN, PATRICK, 2403212. James Smith Reserve. Enlisted 19 June 1917. 52nd Btn. and 7th Btn. Discharged 25 March 1919 at age 37. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

DOGTAIL, AZARIE, 441691 (or Azarie Blackman). Born 15 September 1894. One Arrow Reserve. Enlisted 13 October 1915. 243rd Btn. and 28th Btn. Wounded.

DREAVER, GEORGE, Private, 886133. Born 4 August 1890. John Smith Reserve. Enlisted 3 January 1916. 188th Btn. Discharged 23 February 1918 "having been placed in Category III as a result of defective vision due to Service."

GARDIPPI, GABRIEL, 256252. Born 13 December 1897. Beardy Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Drafted 1 December 1917. 1st Saskatchewan Depot Btn. and Saskatchewan Regiment. Discharged November 1918.

GARDIPPI, NOEL, Private, 474016 (or Noel Wapistiquan). Born 24 December 1892. Beardy Reserve. Occupation, cowboy. Enlisted 7 February 1916. 65th Btn. and 46th Btn. Wounded in the shoulder. Discharged 14 May 1919.

GARDIPPI, PATRICK, 256251. Born 15 November 1896. Beardy Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Drafted 1 December 1917. 1st Saskatchewan Depot Btn. and 28th Btn. Wounded.

KENNEDY, FRED, Private, 1021293. Enlisted 10 February 1917. 233rd Btn. and 14th Btn. Killed 27 September 1918.

McLEOD, ABEL, 2403213. James Smith Reserve. Enlisted 1917. 52nd Btn. and 5th Quebec Btn. Served in Canada. Discharged March 1919.

PAINTED NOSE, FRANCOIS, Private, 1051587. One Arrow Reserve. 243rd Btn. Died 26 December 1918.

PAUL, J.R.W., Private, 2193044. Forestry Corps.

THOMAS, RICHARD CHARLES, Private, 472974. Born 26 March 1894. Beardy Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 20 January 1916. 65th Btn. Wounded in the arm 24 October 1916. Wounded in the knee 7 August 1917. Discharged 8 June 1919. Died 20 August 1960.

WAYMISTICOOS, JOHN, 2193046 (or John Mayotigoos and shown on military records as Misticous, Way). Born 3 April 1872. One Arrow Reserve. Occupation, carpenter. Enlisted 9 July 1917. Saskatchewan Forestry Corps. Wounded. Discharged 10 April 1919.

File Hills Agency

BELLEGARDE, J. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act. No further information located.

BIRD, DAVID, Private, 104147. Born 15 December 1893. Peepeekesis Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 18 August 1915. 5th Btn. Gassed, 17 November 1917. Discharged 28 March 1919. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

BRASS, ALEXANDER, Corporal, 105906. Peepeekesis Reserve. Enlisted 12 January 1916 at age 36. 68th Btn. and 5th Btn. Wounded. Awarded the Military Medal. Discharged 23 March 1919. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

CREELY, LEONARD, 104954. Peepeekesis Reserve. 5th Btn. Gassed. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

DESNOMIE, ALEX, 907654 (or Alex Desnommes). Peepeekesis Reserve. 195th Btn. Served in Canada. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

DICKSON, ELIJAH, Private, 234657. Peepeekesis Reserve. Enlisted 7 April 1916. 203rd Btn. and 8th Btn. Missing and presumed killed 10 November 1917.

GOFORTH, ERNEST, 902517. Peepeekesis Reserve. 195th Btn. and 249th Btn. Served in Canada.

GORDON, FRANK, Private, 865908. Portage La Prairie, Swan Lake, and Peepeekesis Reserve. 195th Btn. Discharged as medically unfit.

JACKSON, PHILIP, Private, 105886. Born 26 May 1876. Peepeekesis Reserve. Enlisted 12 January 1916. 5th Btn. Died of bronchitis overseas 1 February 1917.

LaCREE, PRISQUE, Private, 886202. Born in 1894. Peepeekesis Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 22 December 1915. 188th Btn. and 197th Btn. Discharged as medically unfit.

LAVALLEE, EDWARD, Seaman No. 47. Reserve at Swift Current. Joined the Canadian Navy.

LAVALLEE, MOSES, Private, 1021268. Reserve at Swift Current. Enlisted 5 December 1916. 218th Btn. Sniper.

McKAY, JOE, 104446. Born 14 January 1880. Peepeekesis Reserve, formerly St. Peter's Reserve. Enlisted 12 August 1915. 68th Btn. and 5th Btn. Wounded. Discharged 31 December 1917 "medically unfit - wounds." Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

NOKUSIS, EDWIN, 104449. Born 15 July 1890. Peepeekesis Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 12 August 1915. 68th Btn. and 3rd Pioneer Btn. and 29th Btn. Wounded.

SANDERSON, EDWARD, 105882. Born 19 May 1897. Mistawasis Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted in 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles. Wounded in the back and shell shocked on 13 August 1916; wounded in right forearm on 11 April 1917; and wounded in the back and neck 7 October 1918. Discharged 24 March 1919.

SANDERSON, TOMMY. No information located.

STAR BLANKET, ED, Private, 908191. Star Blanket Reserve. 195th Btn. and 102nd Btn. Wounded at Vimy Ridge.

STONECHILD, ALEX, 2193027. Peepeekesis Reserve. Forestry Corps. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

STONECHILD, HARRY, 104518. Peepeekesis Reserve. 5th Btn. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

SWANSON, EDWARD, Private, 73849. Onion Lake Reserve. 28th Btn. Wounded at Vimy Ridge.

THUNDER, JOE, Private, 781920. Born 15 May 1892. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 17 January 1916. 128th Btn. and 50th Btn. Wounded March 1918. Awarded the Military Medal.

WALKER, JOHN, Private, 104589. Born 8 July 1895, son of Pimatat. Peepeekesis Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 12 August 1915. 68th Btn. and Princess Patricia Canadian Light Infantry. Wounded in right arm 23 September 1916, and in lower back, 6 October 1917. Discharged 18 March 1919. Died 29 September 1956.

YUZICAPI, WILLIAM. No information located.

Île à la Crosse

BEATTY, WALTER, Private, 1018663. Born 25 July 1896. James Roberts Reserve. Student. Enlisted 14 September 1916. 232nd Btn. and 28th Btn. Wounded in abdomen, 26 August 1918. Died of wounds, 28 August 1918.

CHARLES, STANLEY, 531776. James Roberts Reserve. 11th Btn.

HALKETT, JOSEPH, Private, 886505. James Roberts Reserve. Enlisted 23 March 1916. 107th Btn. and 3rd Btn. Canadian Engineers. Fought as a sapper.

HALKETT, ZACHARIAS, Private, 886169. James Roberts Reserve. Enlisted 26 January 1916. 107th Btn.

MIRASTY, ISAAC, Private, 886229. James Roberts Reserve. Enlisted 28 January 1916. 188th Btn.

Moose Mountain Agency

NAHBERIE, AUSTIN JOSEPH, 2192024. Born 15 September 1893. White Bear Reserve. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 2 June 1917. 9th Canadian Railway Troops. Previously attended one camp in 16th Light Horse. Fought as a sapper. Gassed. Died 6 June 1920.

Pelly Agency

BRASS, ALBERT, Private, 888065. Key Reserve Enlisted 13 March 1916. 188th Btn. Wounded. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

CALDWELL, FRANCIS, 888013. Born in 1893. Cote Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 18 December 1915. 188th Btn. Served in Canada.

COTE, DONALD, 888009. Born 15 October 1885. Cote Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 18 December 1915. 188th Btn. Wounded in back on 9 April 1917 at Vimy Ridge; wounded in left arm on 15 August 1917 at Loos; wounded in right hand by a bullet on 28 September 1918 at Cambrai. Discharged 19 February 1919. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act. Died 28 January 1960.

COTE, EDWARD, Private, 888008. Cote Reserve. Enlisted January 1916 at age 28. 288th Btn. Discharged April 1917. Died 5 June 1922.

COTE, LIVINGSTONE, 888010. Cote Reserve. 188th Btn. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

COTE, MAJOR, 888501. Cote Reserve. 188th Btn. Served in Canada.

COTE, WILLIAM HENRY, Private, 888011. Born in 1885. Cote Reserve. Enlisted 18 December 1915. 188th Btn. and 46th Btn. Shot in the left eye, right forearm and left leg, 27 September 1918. Discharged 11 February 1919. Died 26 March 1952.

CROW, JOSEPH, Private, 888041. Cote Reserve. 46th Btn. Killed 22 March 1917.

FAVEL, FRANCIS JAMES, Private, 888035. Born 20 January 1879. Cote Reserve. Enlisted 31 December 1915. 188th Btn.

FAVEL, JOHN, 888070. Born 29 February 1894. Cote Reserve. Enlisted 4 March 1916. 195th Btn.

FIDDLER, ALLAN, 888015. Born in 1896. Cote Reserve. Enlisted 18 February 1916. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

KAKAKWAY, GEORGE PHILIP, Private, 888050. Born 15 January 1897. Keeseekoose Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 8 January 1917, in the 200th Manitoba Regt. Served in 27th Btn., 19th Btn. and 250th Btn. Hospitalized with pleurisy 6 July 1918. Wounded in right arm and back, 14 August 1918. Discharged 14 January 1919.

KESHANE, HENRY S., 913849. Born 20 December 1892. Keeseekoose Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 4 January 1917. 197th Btn. Served in Canada. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

LAFONTAINE, JOSEPH, Private, 718538. Born 12 August 1894. Qu'Appelle. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 14 February 1916. 107th Btn. Brother of Leon.

LAFONTAINE, LEON, Private, 1069477. Said he was born in 1899. Enlisted 17 February 1917 at age 15. 249th Btn. and 1st CMR. Died of injuries after being wounded in the left thigh and abdomen, 13 September 1918.

PELLETIER, DANIEL, Private, 1069042. Born 16 January 1896. From High Bluff. Enlisted 24 October 1916. 249 Btn. and Canadian Mounted Rifles, 8th Brigade, 3rd Division. Fought as a sniper. Also enlisted in World War II.

PELLETIER, PAUL, Private, 276284. From Lestock. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 8 May 1916. 217th Btn. and 46th Btn.

PELLTIER, SANDY. No information located.

RAZER, GRAHAM, 913735 (or Graham Razor). Keeseekoose Reserve. 197th Btn. and 107th Btn. to Forestry Corps. Died 24 April 1922 from tuberculosis.

RAZOR, HAMILTON, Private, 888502. Born 22 March 1890. Keeseekoose Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 22 April 1916. 197th Btn.

RAZOR, RAYMOND, Private, 913735. Born 16 October 1892. Keeseekoose Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 7 October 1616. 107th Btn. and Forestry Corps. Died 29 April 1922.

SEVERIGHT, JAMES, 888084. Cote Reserve. 188th Btn. Served in Canada.

SEVERIGHT, WILLIAM, Private, 276591. 217th Btn. Enlisted 27 July 1916.

TOURANGE, MALCOLM, Private, 888518. 197th Btn. Enlisted 17 April 1916.

WHITEHAWK, ROY, Private, 888045. Born 27 December 1894. Kamsack. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 8 January 1916. 188th Btn. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act. No further information located.

Qu'Appelle Agency

BALL, HARRY, Private, 908129. Piapot Reserve. Enlisted 19 May 1916. 195th Btn. and 102nd Btn. Wounded at Vimy Ridge.

BEAR, GILBERT, Private, 276581. Born in 1893. Standing Buffalo Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 8 December 1916. 247th Btn. and 38th Btn. Wounded.

CROWE, JOHN, 1072119. Piapot Reserve. Enlisted 1916. 250th Btn. Discharged as medically unfit, January 1917.

DEEGAN, JAMES, Private, 925783. Born 22 May 1880. Standing Buffalo Reserve. Enlisted 12 May 1916. 152nd Btn. Previously served three years in Royal North-West Mounted Police. Committed suicide 24 May 1916.

DEEGAN, ST. PIERRE, Private, 925089 (Also called Peter Deegan). Born 28 May 1893. Standing Buffalo Reserve. Enlisted 20 December 1915. 152nd Btn. Deserted and struck off strength 26 January 1917.

GOPHER, PATRICK, Private, 908980. Born in October 1878. Piapot Reserve. Enlisted 15 May 1916. 195th Btn. Discharged 31 May 1916, "unlikely to become an efficient soldier."

GOPHER, PETER, Private, 908230. Born 2 February 1898. Piapot Reserve. Enlisted 13 September 1916. 195th Btn. Previously served in 16th Light Horse Militia. Wounded.

MORRIS, ANDREW WILLIAM, Private, 718535. Born 12 April 1885. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 14 February 1916. 107th Btn.

PETERS, JOE, Private, 907532 (or Joe Peter). Standing Buffalo Reserve. Occupation, shoemaker. Enlisted 27 March 1916 at age 23. 195th Btn. and 102nd Btn. Arrived in France 30 November 1916. Killed 9 April 1917.

STANDING BUFFALO, JOE ARTHUR, Private, 2413310 (also called Joe Buffalo). Born 3 June 1897. Standing Buffalo Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 11 June 1917. 46th Btn. and 78th Btn. Died of wounds 3 October 1918.

WATETCH, ABEL, Private, 907650. Piapot Reserve. Enlisted 4 April 1916. 195th Btn. and 102nd Btn. Gassed and wounded.

Touchwood Agency

ANDERSON, ANDREW, Private, 718531. Gordon Reserve. Enlisted 14 February 1916 at age 39. 107th Btn. and 1st Btn. Arrived in France 20 February 1917. Awarded the Military Medal for conspicuous gallantry in action, 12 December 1917. Discharged 9 May 1919. Died 21 September 1930 at age 55.

ANDERSON, DAVID, Private, 718533. Born 12 January 1872. Gordon Reserve. Occupation, blacksmith. Enlisted 14 February 1916. 107th Btn. Wounded at Hill 70.

ANDERSON, JOHN, 1069119. Gordon Reserve. Enlisted November 1916 at age 17. 249th Btn. and 28th Btn. Wounded August 1918 at Amiens. Discharged 25 March 1919. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

ANDERSON, THOMAS, Private, 718532. Gordon Reserve. Enlisted February 1916. 107th Btn. Wounded October 1918. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act. Also enlisted in World War II.

FISHER, JOHN, 1069120. Gordon Reserve. Enlisted November 1916 at age 17. 249th Btn. and 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles. Wounded at Cambrai.

GREEN, THOMAS, 1069457. Muscowequan Reserve. Enlisted 1917 at age 43. 249th Btn. Wounded. Applied unsuccessfully under Soldier Settlement Act.

McNAB, THOMAS, Private, 721900. Gordon Reserve. Enlisted 15 February 1916. 108th Btn. Wounded. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

WINDIGO, KEVIN, Private, 718539. Muscowequan Reserve. Enlisted 14 February 1916. 107th Btn. Wounded 1917.

MANITOBA

Birtle Agency

BLACK, JOHN, Private, 718454. Waywayseecappo Reserve. Enlisted 7 February 1916. 107th Btn. Served in France in the Transport Service. Discharged May 1918 due to being over age at 52.

BLACKFACE, GEORGE, Private, 234733. Born in 1893. Bird Tail Sioux Reserve. Enlisted 13 April 1916. 203th Btn. and 8th Btn. Wounded in left arm, 22 September 1917. Killed 14 October 1918.

BONE, ANTOINE, Private, 718805. Born 15 May 1893. Occupation, fisherman. Enlisted 14 March 1916. 107th Btn. Killed 5 August 1917.

BONE, HENRY GEORGE, Private, 1000662. Born 7 March 1895. Keeseekoowanin Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 12 February 1916. 226th Btn. Wounded September 1917.

BONE, JOSEPH, Private, 718456. Born 26 February 1881. Rolling River Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 7 February 1916. 107th Btn. Deserted in July 1916 and struck off strength 28 June 1918.

FLETT, ALEXANDER SAMUEL, Private, 718458. Born 5 June 1894. Keeseekoowanin Reserve. Enlisted 7 February 1916. 107th Btn. and 27th Btn. Killed 8 September 1917.

FLETT, SOLOMON GEORGE, Private, 424791. Born 9 August 1893. Keeseekoowanin Reserve. Enlisted 19 September 1915. 45th Btn. and 29th Btn. Killed 16 July 1916.

LARIVIERE, PHILIP, Private, 718937. Born 25 December 1895. From Camperville. Enlisted 21 March 1916. 107th Btn. and 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles. Killed 11 August 1918.

MECAS, ALLAN, Private, 1072231. Waywayseecappo Reserve. Enlisted March 1917. 250th Btn. Deserted August 1917. Received eighteen-month jail term. After twelve months he was released and discharged as medically unfit on 19 September 1918.

Clandeboye Agency

ASSINIBOINE, BAPTISTE. Brokenhead Reserve. 251st Btn. Served overseas.

BARKER, GEORGE ARTHUR, L/Corporal, 151521. Born in December 1894, son of Capt. William Barker. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 3 August 1915. 79th Btn. and 43rd Btn. Received shell wound in the ribs 3 October 1916 on the Somme; shell wounds in legs, thigh and foot, 26 October 1917 at Ypres; shrapnel wound in right foot and toe amputated, 23 April 1918; and wounded in arm and back, 6 May 1918 at Lens. Discharged 29 May 1919.

BARKER, GORDON, Private, 151522. St. Peter Reserve. 79th Btn. Wounded.

BEAR, WILLIAM. Brokenhead Reserve. No. 2 Independent Company. Served in Canada.

BEARS, ANDREW. St. Peter Reserve. 108th Btn.

BRUCE, LAZARUS, Private, 719002. Born 25 September 1897. Fort Alexander Reserve. Occupation, hunter. Enlisted 29 March 1916. 107th Btn. Recorded as a deserter 19 May 1916.

CANADA, ISADORE, Private, 2320348. Born 22 April 1894. Fort Alexander Reserve.

Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 5 April 1917. 233rd Btn. and French Canadian Brigade. Deserted 25 May 1917 at St. Boniface.

COCHRANE, ALBERT, Private, 1250258. Born 16 May 1888. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, harnessmaker. Joined the Canadian Navy 28 February 1917.

COOK, ALBERT, Private. St. Peter Reserve. Lord Strathcona's Horse. Killed 24 May 1915.

CURRANT, WILLIAM. St. Peter Reserve. 108th Btn. Served overseas.

DANIELS, WALTER, Private, 150351. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted at age 36. 79th Btn. and 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles. Killed 3 December 1916.

DESJARLAIS, ALEX, Private, 4070043 (or Alex Chief). Born 15 December 1886. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, fisherman. Enlisted 11 November 1917. 108th Btn.

DESJARLAIS, GILBERT, Corporal, 234960 (or Gilbert Chief, Jr.). Brokenhead Reserve. 203rd Btn. and 2nd Btn. Killed 25 October 1918.

DESJARLAIS, HEBERT, Private, 234958 (or Hebert Chief). Brokenhead Reserve. 203rd Btn. and 8th Btn. Killed 15 August 1917.

DURIE, GUS. St. Peter Reserve. 79th Btn. Served overseas.

FLETT, CHARLES, Private, 1084357. Born 10 August 1898. Brokenhead Reserve. Enlisted 21 February 1917. 251st Btn.

FLETT, EDWARD, Private, 1070022. Born 24 September 1892. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, fisherman. Enlisted 3 January 1918. 249th Btn. Wounded in the thigh and left hand 28 September 1918. On his way home he reinjured his hand in a train wreck between Halifax and Quebec City. Discharged 8 February 1919. Died 1 January 1972.

FLETT, GEORGE, Private, 1072245. Born 21 December 1898. St. Peter Reserve. 250th Btn. Developed tuberculosis while in Canada. Discharged as medically unfit 28 February 1919.

GRISDALE, ALEX, 2273334. Born 23 May 1896. Brokenhead Reserve. Enlisted 8 April 1917. No. 2 Independent Company. Served in Canada.

GRISDALE, JOHN THOMAS, 2273341. Born 9 January 1897. Brokenhead Reserve. Occupation, woodcutter. Enlisted 20 April 1917. No. 2 Independent Company. Served overseas.

GUIMOND, DONALD, 1072234. Born 15 November 1898. Fort Alexander Reserve. Enlisted 28 March 1917. 250th Btn. Served overseas.

HALL, BERT. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted in 1915 in Lord Strathcona Horse.

HAMELIN, GILBERT, Private, 722154. Born 7 March 1898. Occupation, labourer. 108th Btn. and 202nd Btn. Arrived in England, 25 September 1916. Diagnosed with tuberculosis, 17 February 1917. Returned to Canada 21 April 1917; refused to enter a sanatorium and went home. Discharged 31 July 1917.

KAPAYWAYWOTUNG, — . Brokenhead Reserve. 251 Btn. Served overseas.

KING, GEORGE. Brokenhead Reserve. 251st Btn.

KIPPLING, ROBERT, Private, 721200. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted 13 December 1915. 108th Btn. and 78th Btn. Killed 18 June 1917.

LECLAIR, ALEXANDER, 722161. Born 20 June 1873. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 14 March 1916. 108th Btn. Served overseas.

LECLAIR, ALFRED, 1084366. Born 29 October 1898. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, lumberman. Enlisted 9 March 1917. 251st Btn. Served in Canada.

LECLAIR, ARCHIE, 186178. Born 25 December 1894. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted 12 November 1915. 90th Btn. Winnipeg Rifles. Wounded.

McKENNY, ROBERT JAMES, 1069923. Born 23 March 1899. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 7 December 1917. 249th Btn.

MORRISEAU, RALPH, 721291. Born August 1896. Wife Lisa. St. Peter Reserve. 251st Btn. and 108th Btn. Discharged as medically unfit. Died at the age of 20.

MORRISEAU, RALPH, 1072238. Born 2 July 1897. Wife Violet. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted 17 March 1917. 250th Btn. Deserted and struck off strength 29 April 1918.

MORRISEAU, WILLIAM JAMES, 1072169 (or James Marshall). Born 21 December 1897. Fort Alexander Reserve. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 28 December 1916. 250th Btn. On 1 May 1918 he made the following deposition in Branshott, England: "I William James Morriseau solemnly and sincerely declare that I was enlisted on the 28th Dec. 1916 under the name of James Marshall, which name I now declare to be incorrect. The name William James Morriseau I now declare to be my true name." He was declared missing in action, 28 October 1918 and presumed dead 21 November 1919.

OLSON, RUDOLPH, Private, 1084369. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted 13 March 1917 at age 22. 251st Btn.

OLSON, WALTER L., Private, 150530. St. Peter Reserve. 79th Btn. Served overseas

PARISIEN, WILLIAM, 721208. Born 7 April 1896. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 13 December 1915. 108th Btn.

PRINCE, ALBERT ALEXANDER, 721039 (or Albert Chief). Born 10 April 1885. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted 23 November 1915. 108th Btn.

RATT, ELLIOTT, 721209. Born 15 March 1890. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, fisherman. Enlisted 13 December 1915. 108th Btn. Wounded.

RAVEN, THOMAS. Fort Alexander Reserve. 108th Btn. Deserted.

ROBERTSON, ROBERT. St. Peter Reserve. No. 2 Independent Company. Enlisted at age 19. Served in Canada.

SETTEE, A.J. St. Peter Reserve. 108th Btn.

SINCLAIR, ALEX. St. Peter Reserve. 107th Btn. Discharged and believed to have died a short time later.

SINCLAIR, SAMUEL. St. Peter Reserve. 200th Btn.

SMITH, ALBERT. St. Peter Reserve. 251st Btn. Served in Canada.

SMITH, ALFRED, Private, 719116. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted 7 April 1916 at age 22. 107th Btn.

SMITH, ALFRED JAMES. St. Peter Reserve. 251st Btn. Served overseas.

SMITH, BENJAMIN, Private, 859426. St. Peter Reserve. 43rd Btn. Served overseas. Discharged 14 November 1917.

SMITH, ROD J., 913757. St. Peter Reserve. 45th Btn. Served overseas.

SPENCE, J.R. St. Peter Reserve. 221st Btn.

STEVENSON, GEORGE, Private. St. Peter Reserve. 43rd Btn. Killed 8 August 1918.

STEVENSON, RODERICK. St. Peter Reserve. 108th Btn.

STEVENSON, WALTER, L/Corporal, 721225. Born 3 January 1895. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted 13 December 1915. 108th Btn. Wounded in hands, arms and chest 16 August 1917 at Hill 70. Sent to England to Manitoba Regimental Depot. Discharged 7 May 1919. Died 29 October 1969.

STONEY, ALEX, Private, 117753. 250th Btn. Remained in Canada. Discharged.

STRANGER, DAVID, Private, 150627. St. Peter Reserve. 79th Btn. and 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles. Killed 29 March 1917 at age 23.

STREET, AUBURY. St. Peter Reserve. No further information located.

THOMAS, NORMAN, Private, 722288. Born 17 March 1895. St. Peter Reserve. Enlisted 29 December 1916. 108th Btn. Wounded in thigh and knee 9 April 1917 at Vimy Ridge. Hospitalized and described as "dangerously ill." Invalided to Canada. Discharged 15 February 1918.

WESLEY, THOMAS, Private, 721376. Born 10 February 1894. St. Peter Reserve. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 22 December 1915. 108th Btn. and 16th Btn. Killed 16 August 1917.

WILLIAMS, GEORGE. St. Peter Reserve. 108th Btn. Wounded.

Fisher River Agency

ASHAM, KENNETH McCLURE, Private, 721677. Born 6 May 1895. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 24 January 1916. 108th Btn. and 78th Btn. Killed 28 March 1917.

ASHAM, JAMES, 507349. Born 21 January 1885. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 3 September 1916. Fought as a sapper.

BLACKFOOT, THOMAS. No information located.

COCHRANE, ALEX. 8th Btn. No further information located.

COCHRANE, RILEY, 1069770. Born 15 January 1899. Enlisted 10 April 1917. Joined up at Brandon Indian Industrial School. Served in Canada.

COOK, ALFRED. 249th Btn. Remained in Canada.

COOK, REYNOLD, Private, 721310. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 22 December 1915. 108th Btn. and 107th Btn. Killed 15 August 1917.

CORRELL, ROBERT. Remained in Canada.

FLETT, WILLIAM, 501089. Born 23 January 1884. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 9 November 1915. Previously served three years in 12th Manitoba Dragoons. Gassed.

HENDERSON, JOHN, Private, 722068. Enlisted 2 December 1915. 108th Btn. Gassed.

HOPE, ROBERT, 1072886. Peguis Reserve. 249th Btn.

HUDSON, WILLIAM. No information located.

McCORRISTER, OSWALD, Private, 721097. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 4 December 1915. 108th Btn. and 16th Btn. Gassed 15 February 1918. Discharged 15 February 1918 and returned ill.

McCORRISTER, WILLIAM, Private, 721104. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 4 December 1916. 108th Btn. and 78th Btn. Discharged 26 June 1919.

MACKLIN, OLIVER LAWRENCE, 106375. Selkirk. Stepson of Joe Keeper. Occupation, rancher. Enlisted 1 December 1914. 45th Btn.

MUNNINGUAY, JOHN ALAN, 234850. Born 9 December 1894. Enlisted 26 April 1916. 203rd Btn. Deserted after three months. Re-attested in 28 August 1918 as #123858. Fought with Canadian forces in Siberia.

MURDOCH, AMOS WILLIAM, Private, 151827. Enlisted 15 September 1916. 79th Btn. and 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles.

PAHKOO, HENRY, Private, 234849. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 26 April 1916. 203rd Btn. Wounded.

SINCLAIR, COLIN, 476349. Born 13 October 1884. Peguis Reserve. Occupation, fisherman. 3rd Troop B Fort Garry Horse. Wounded and missing in action, 24 November 1917. Found to be a prisoner of war 18 December 1917, at Senne, then Dulmen, and then Friedrichfeld camp. Repatriated 22 November 1918. Discharged 15 March 1919.

SINCLAIR, GEORGE, Private. 476354. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 14 July 1915 at age 25. 1st Troop A, Fort Garry Horse. Discharged 16 April 1919. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act. Died 15 April 1921.

SINCLAIR, HENRY, 235029. 203rd Btn.

SINCLAIR, JOHN, Private, 859166. 179th Btn. and 43rd Btn. Killed 5 April 1917.

SINCLAIR, McIVOR, Private. 45th Btn. and 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles, Fort Garry Horse. Killed 8 November 1916.

STEVENSON, PHILIP, Private, 721076. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 2 December 1915. 78th Btn. Wounded.

SUTHERLAND, THOMAS, 721286. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 16 December 1915. 108th Btn. Gassed.

THICKFOOT, THOMAS, 3346586. Born 20 July 1890. Fisher River. Occupation, laborer. Enlisted 21 May 1918. 1st Depot Btn., Manitoba Regt.

THOMAS, DAVID, Private, 721995. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 22 February 1916. 108th Btn. and 43rd Btn. Killed 26 October 1917.

THOMAS, JOHN, Private, 721695. Peguis Reserve. Enlisted 4 December 1915. 108th Btn. and 107th Btn. Killed 15 August 1917.

THOMPSON, EDWARD ALBERT. Born 4 September 1900. Peguis Reserve. Discharged 11 January 1919.

THOMPSON, WILLIAM. Peguis Reserve. Fought with Canadian forces in Siberia.

WILLIAMS, GEORGE, Private, 721210. Born 25 December 1896. Peguis Reserve. Occupation, fisherman. Enlisted 25 February 1917. 108th Btn. and 107th Btn. Fractured his knee when he fell from an ammunition wagon in France, 4 March 1918. Further injured on his way home in a train wreck between Halifax and Quebec City. Discharged 8 February 1919.

WILLIAMS, SEC, 791818. Peguis Reserve. 10th Btn. Wounded.

Griswold Agency

DOOTA, JOHN, Private, 235162. Oak River Reserve. Enlisted 1 June 1916. 203rd Btn.

DOWAN, SAMUEL, Private, 152810. Oak River Reserve. Enlisted 24 February 1916 at age 23. 79th Btn. and 43rd Btn. Wounded April 1917. Discharged 23 December 1918. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act. Dead by 28 April 1928 at age 35.

ESSIE, JAMES FRED, Private, 2383317. Oak River Reserve. Enlisted 7 July 1917 at age 16. 27th Btn. and 99th Manitoba Rangers. Wounded May 1918. Discharged January 1919. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act. Died 22 June 1924 at age 24.

HAPA, HERBERT, Private, 234520. Oak River Reserve. 203rd Btn. and 52nd Btn. Awarded the Military Medal for putting a machine gun out of action by killing the gun crew. Wounded October 1918. Discharged January 1919. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

KASTO, THOMAS, Private, 234732. Oak River Reserve. Enlisted 13 April 1916. 203rd Btn. and 27th Btn. Killed 21 August 1917.

MOORE, GILBERT, Private, 234324. Oak River Reserve. Enlisted 17 March 1916. 203rd Btn. and 78th Btn. Killed 24 March 1918 at age 22.

MYRICK, ANGUS (or Angus Merrick). Oak River Reserve. 203rd Btn.

MYRICK, MANIS, Private, 150535 (or Manis Merrick). Born August 1896. Oak River Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 5 January 1916. 79th Btn. and 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles. Wounded 13 March 1917. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act.

NOEL, JOHN, Private, 234278. Oak River Reserve. Enlisted 4 March 1916. 203rd Btn.

SIOUX, ZEPHERIN, Private, 719103. Oak River Reserve. Enlisted 7 April 1916. 107th Btn.

TAYLOR, JOHN, Private, 234643. Oak River Reserve. Enlisted 5 April 1916. 203rd Btn. and 8th Btn. Fought as a sniper. Discharged 9 September 1917.

WILLIAMS, RUFUS, Private, 276634. Said he was born 10 February 1898. Oak River Reserve. Enlisted in Regina 7 March 1917. 217th Btn. "Discharged as being a minor and under age limit," at Camp Hughes. Reenlisted 17 July 1917, giving his birth date as 3 August 1897. 181st Btn.

Manitowapah Agency

BRUCE, ALEX, Private, 718342. Fairford Reserve. Enlisted 25 January 1916. 107th Btn. Served overseas.

CHARTRAND, ALFRED. Waterhen Reserve. Canadian Engineers. Sapper. Killed 31 May 1918.

DEMARIAS, LOUIS. Sandy Bay Reserve. 107th Btn.

LETANDER, DAVID, 718662. Born 24 May 1893. Fairford Reserve. 107th Pioneer Btn.

Gassed and wounded 6 November 1917 and returned to duty. Wounded again 15 October 1918. Discharged 23 April 1919. Died 26 February 1974.

LETENDRE, LOUIS ALFRED, 2373306. Born 22 September 1898. Fairford Reserve. Occupation, gas engineer. Enlisted 10 April 1917. 174th Btn. and 8th Btn. and 79th Cameron Highlanders. Wounded.

PRINCE, AMABLE, 719127. Born 5 August 1898. Sandy Bay Reserve. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 8 April 1916. 107th Btn.

ROULETTE, JOHN, Private, 718689. Sandy Bay Reserve. Enlisted 28 February 1916 at age 23. 107th Btn. and 2nd Btn. Arrived in France 25 February 1917. Wounded 17 August 1917 near Loos. Discharged 7 May 1919. Died 12 June 1969.

SHORTING, HENRY GEORGE, Private, 261583. Fairford Reserve. Enlisted 3 July 1916. 212st Btn. Served in Canada.

WILFORD, JAMES EDWARD, 721072. Born 10 January 1894. Sandy Bay Reserve. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 1 December 1915. 108th Btn. Deserted and struck from strength 13 June 1918.

Norway House Agency

APATAGAN, JOHN. Discharged as medically unfit.

ARTHURSON, WILLIAM. No information located.

CAMPBELL, GEORGE, Private, 235024. Oxford House Reserve. Enlisted 1 May 1916. 203rd Btn.

CAPLAIN, McRAE. 203rd Btn. God's Lake Reserve.

CASTELL, ANTONE. Cross Lake Reserve. 203rd Btn. Discharged as medically unfit.

CHUBB, THOMAS. Oxford House Reserve. Discharged as medically unfit.

COLIN, JOSEPH, 1072165. Born 7 June 1897. Enlisted 3 January 1917 from Brandon Indian Industrial School. 250th Btn.

COLIN, RODERICK, 3346987. Born 12 January 1897. Enlisted 23 May 1918. Discharged as medically unfit.

CRATE, ANDREW, 2184381. Forestry Corps, No. 10.

CRATE, WILLIAM, 2184380. Norway House. Forestry Corps, No. 10.

CROMARTY, MURDO, Private, 235028. Enlisted 5 May 1916. 203rd Btn. and 107th Btn. Killed 20 April 1917.

EVANS, ALEXANDER, 235103. Born in 1886. Norway House. Enlisted 22 May 1916. Discharged 17 July 1916 as medically unfit.

EVANS, THOMAS, Private, 235101. Born 10 March 1896. Occupation, trapper. Enlisted 22 May 1916. 203rd Btn. and 52nd Btn. Wounded.

FROBISHER, SAM. Discharged as medically unfit.

GORE, MOSES, 235108. Born April 1870. Occupation, trapper. Enlisted 25 May 1916. 203rd Btn. Discharged 22 September 1916 as medically unfit.

HALCRO, WALTER. Cross Lake Reserve. 203rd Btn. Discharged as medically unfit.

KEEPER, JOSEPH, Corporal, 235021. Born 21 January 1886. Norway House. Occupation, carpenter. Enlisted 1 May 1916. 203rd Btn. and 1st Btn. Awarded the Military Medal. Fought as a sapper and dispatch runner. Died 1971.

KEEPER, WALTER, Private, 2184372. Born 18 May 1874. Norway House. Occupation, forest ranger. Enlisted 26 July 1917. Forestry Corps, No. 79-10.

KIRKNESS, JOHN JAMES, 235020. Born 4 March 1890. Norway House. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 1 May 1916.

LAUGHER, SANDY, 235018 (or Sandy Laffer). Born 13 March 1896. Norway House. Occupation, driver. Enlisted 1 May 1916. 203rd Btn. and 78th Btn. Wounded in elbow, 9 April 1917; shrapnel wound in left arm and back, 11 August 1918 at Amiens. Hospitalized in England and Canada. Discharged 16 January 1920.

McDONALD, JOHN. Discharged as medically unfit.

McKAY, DONALD, 235138. Born 24 May 1887. Enlisted 30 May 1916. 203rd Btn. Discharged 15 August 1916 as medically unfit.

McKAY, NICKODEMUS, 235034. Cross Lake Reserve. Enlisted 1 May 1916. 203rd Btn. Discharged 8 June 1916 as medically unfit.

McKAY, WILLIAM, 3347789. Born in 1888. Cross Lake Reserve. Enlisted 2 June 1916. Rejected as medically unfit 7 June 1916.

McKAY, WILLIAM, 235096. Born in 1892. Cross Lake Reserve. Occupation, fisherman. Enlisted 24 May 1916. 203rd Btn. Discharged as medically unfit.

MENOW, JOHN, Private, 235012 (or John Meno). Norway House. Enlisted 15 May 1916. 203rd Btn. and 107th Btn. and 2nd Engineers. Gassed

MONEAS, JOHN, 235017 (or John Monias). 203rd Btn. and Canadian Mounted Rifles. Wounded 23 September 1918.

MOORE, ALEXANDER STRATH, Private, 73815. Born 2 July 1895. Member of the File Hills Colony. Enlisted 24 October 1914. 28th Btn. Qualified as bomb thrower, 13 September 1915. Missing in action, 24 June 1916. Prisoner of war at Gefangenenlager Wahn, 5 July 1916, and then at Limberg. Repatriated 12 December 1918 and discharged 6 April 1919. Died 3 December 1953.

NAKAWAY, MATHEW, Private, 235104. Enlisted 22 May 1916. 203rd Btn. and 8th Btn. Wounded.

OSBORNE, KENNETH. Born 10 March 1897. Norway House. Enlisted 10 November 1917. Discharged the following day as medically unfit.

QUESKEKAPOU, NATHANIEL. Discharged as mentally deficient.

ROBINSON, DONALD, Private, 235016. Enlisted 1 May 1916. 203rd Btn.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM, 2184373. Born in 1897. Norway House. Occupation, axeman. Enlisted 13 August 1917. Forestry Corps, No. 10.

SAUNDERS, ALEX, 235105 (or Alex Sanders). Born in 1896. Norway House. Occupation, hunter. Enlisted 24 May 1916. 203rd Btn. and 107th Btn. and 8th Btn. Reported killed in action 19 August 1917 but discovered the following day, wounded in the thigh. Discharged 26 May 1919. Died 4 June 1974.

SCOTT, MILES. Cross Lake Reserve. Discharged as medically unfit due to tuberculosis.

SETTEE, ALFRED, Private, 235015. Former interpreter who had learned a mechanical trade. Enlisted 1 May 1916. 203rd Btn. and 107th Btn. Gassed.

SMITH, JAMES. No information located.

STENSON, JAMES. Oxford House Reserve. Forestry Corps, No. 10.

SWANSON, WILLIAM. 203rd Btn.

TAIT, ELIJAH, Private, 235125. Enlisted 21 May 1916 at age 25. 203rd Btn. and 27th Btn. Arrived in France December 1916. Wounded three times. Discharged 24 September 1918. Admitted to a sanatorium on 28 March 1918 with tuberculosis.

THOMAS, EDWARD, 235035. Born in September 1886. Cross Lake Reserve. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 1 May 1916. 203rd Btn. Discharged 8 June 1916 as "not likely to become efficient."

WESLEY, ALEX, 2184376. Born 10 April 1896. Occupation, axeman and hunter. Enlisted 13 August 1917. Forestry Corps, No. 10.

WESLEY, CHARLES, 2184375. Born 4 March 1894. Occupation, axeman and hunter. Enlisted 18 August 1917. Forestry Corps, No. 10.

WHISKEY JACK, CHARLES, Private, 235032. Born in 1888. Norway House. Occupation, trapper. Enlisted 12 May 1916. "Cannot speak English." 203rd Btn. and 78th Btn. Wounded in left arm, 9 April 1917 at Vimy Ridge. Discharged 15 January 1918.

WHISKEY JACK, JAMES, Private, 235014. Cross Lake Reserve. Enlisted 1 May 1916. 203rd Btn. and 8th Btn. Killed 15 August 1917.

The Pas Agency

BIGNELL, JACOB, Private, 913449. Born 30 March 1896. Occupation, trapper. Enlisted 15 April 1916. Forestry Corps, No. 28. Served in France.

BIGNELL, JOSEPH, Private, 1036552. Born in May 1886. Occupation, carpenter. Enlisted 14 August 1916. 238th Btn. and 78th Btn. Served in France.

BIGNELL, PAUL, Private, 2487908. Occupation, hunter. Enlisted 21 May 1917. Forestry Corps, No. 5. Died 1 February 1919.

BIGNELL, PETER, Private, 2487906. Born 8 August 1896. Occupation, hunter. Enlisted 17 May 1917. Forestry Corps, No. 5 and CAMC. Developed lung problems. Discharged as medically unfit.

BUCK, ALEXANDER, Private, 2487911. Born 27 March 1897. Occupation, hunter. Enlisted 15 June 1917. Forestry Corps, No. 140.

CANADA, CHARLES, Private, 1021160. Born 28 June 1892. Cumberland House Reserve. Occupation, trapper. Enlisted 28 June 1916. 233rd Btn. Discharged 27 December 1916.

COCHRANE, PERCY, Private, 473255. Born 7 May 1896. Enlisted 2 September 1915. 28th Btn. Discharged 18 April 1918.

CONSTANT, LAZARUS, Private. 2nd Btn. Killed 30 September 1918.

COOK, CAMPBELL, Private, 2487920. Forestry Corps, No. 79.

COOK, ROBERT, Private, 2487915. Forestry Corps, No. 79. Served in France. Discharged 10 April 1919. Died 29 December 1919 at age 22.

COWAN, GEORGE. 249th Btn. No further information located.

GREENLEAF, WILLIAM, Private, 1069129. Born 6 January 1898. Cumberland Reserve. Occupation, trapper. Enlisted 11 November 1916. Forestry Corps, Nos. 5 and 78, and 249th Btn.

HEAD, WALTER, Private, 2487916. Forestry Corps, No. 89. Discharged April 1919. Died 6 November 1919 at age 24.

HIGHWAY, JAMES, Private, 2487904. Canadian Forestry Corps. Served in France. Discharged 12 March 1919 at age 22.

LATHLIN, RICHARD, Private, 246754. Enlisted 6 November 1916 at age 24. 207th Btn. and 2nd Btn. Wounded and lost his left leg. Discharged July 1919. Applied under Soldier Settlement Act. Died 12 October 1920.

McGILLIVRAY, JOE, Private. Served in Canada.

McGILLIVRAY, LOUIS, Private, 246755. Born 1 November 1891. Occupation, trader. Enlisted 14 September 1917. 2nd Canadian Infantry and 207th Btn. Wounded twice, once in the left thigh, 29 October 1918. Discharged 19 July 1919.

McGILLIVRAY, MATTHEW, Private, 2487907. Forestry Corps, No. 140. Served in France.

MARLES, BARNABAS, Private, 2487903. Born 29 February 1899. Occupation, hunter. Enlisted 12 May 1917. Railway Construction and Forestry Unit. Served in England.

ROSS, ANGUS, Private, 2487905. Born 1 November 1897. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 17 May 1917. Forestry Corps, No. 5 and 7th Btn. Served in France.

ROSS, HENRY, Private, 2487913. Born 15 March 1880. Moose Lake Reserve. Occupation, hunter. Enlisted 15 June 1917. Served in France.

ROSS, PHILIP, Private. Served in Canada.

SANDERSON, ANDREW, Private, 2487912. Moose Lake Reserve. Forestry Corps, No. 49.

SETTEE, THOMAS, Private. Cumberland House Reserve. Remained in Canada.

THOMAS, ROBERT, Sergeant, 1036550. Born 13 January 1881. Occupation, clerk. Enlisted 14 August 1916. 238th Btn. and Forestry Corps, No. 35. Served two years in France.

TOBACCO, ROBERT, Private, 1069574. Born 16 June 1894. Moose Lake Reserve. Occupation, fisherman. Enlisted 7 March 1917. 249th Btn. and 46th Btn.

YOUNG, ALBERT, Private, 913351. Born 1 December 1895. Son of Dr. Joseph Young. The Pas. Occupation, trapper and hunter. Enlisted 13 April 1916. 197th Btn. Discharged 12 January 1917.

YOUNG, ZACCHAEUS, Private, 2487917 (or Zacchaus Young). Born 1 July 1898. The Pas. Enlisted 21 July 1917. Forestry Corps, No. 49. Served in France.

Portage la Prairie Agency

CAMERON, KEE-WAT-KA-QUAPE. Swan Lake Reserve. Forestry Corps.

CHASKE, JOHN, Private. Sioux Village Reserve. Depot Btn. and 226th Btn. Wounded. Discharged 25 November 1918.

CHASKE, NORMAN, Private, 1000545. Born 4 August 1886. Sioux Village Reserve. Occupation, farm labourer. Enlisted 7 February 1916. 226th Btn. Wounded in legs and right hand, 22 August 1917. Infection developed from shrapnel wounds. Right leg amputated 23 December 1917 and fitted with an artificial leg. Discharged 29 March 1919.

DEMERY, BAPTISTE, Private, 238376 (or Baptiste Demerais). Sandy Bay Reserve. Born at Fort Ellice, Man. 52nd Btn. Killed 10 August 1918 at age 52.

GAMBLER, JOHN, Private, 294867. Born 2 February 1898. Pine Creek Reserve. Enlisted 30 January 1917. 107th Btn. and 223rd Btn. Arrived in England in May 1917 and France in November 1917. Found to have tuberculosis and sent back to England, 26 November 1917. "Slept in same room with two brothers who died of TB." Died 30 January 1918 in Liverpool during repatriation to Canada.

GRANDBOY, PAT, Private, 718972. Roseau Reserve. Enlisted 27 March 1916. 107th Btn.

MITCHELL, ALEXANDER, Private, 721562. Born 7 September 1896. Poplar River Reserve. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 6 January 1916. 78th Btn. Killed 9 April 1917.

NERIHILL, ALEX. Poplar River Reserve. 108th Btn.

SANDERSON, WILLIAM, Private, 718743. 107th Btn. Discharged 16 July 1917.

SIHA, GEORGE, Private, 2383304. Born 14 April 1895. Occupation, farmer. "Does not speak much English." 8th Btn. Wounded in lower back and gassed, 30 August 1918. Found to have contracted tuberculosis, 20 February 1918. Discharged 24 March 1919.

VIVIER, ALEXANDER, Private, 152716. Born 2 March 1896. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 8 November 1915. 79th Btn. and 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles. Killed 29 September 1918.

MANITOBA - GENERAL

McDONALD, HUGH, Private. 49th Btn. From Winnipeg. Awarded the Military Medal. Died 12 February 1919.

OUILLETTE, PETER, Private (or Peter Ouilette). Born 15 February 1884. From St. Claude. Occupation, farmer. Enlisted 18 May 1916. 221st Btn., 162th Btn. and 78th Btn. Killed 30 October 1917.

PAUL, JOSEPH, Private, 151874. Born 15 February 1891. From St. Eustache. Occupation, labourer. Enlisted 30 November 1915. 79th Btn. and 16th Btn. Killed between 4 and 7 September 1916.

RICHARD, ROGER, Private, 2379844. Born 17 December 1890. From St. Ambroise. Occupation, farm hand. Enlisted 11 January 1918. 52th Btn. Killed 4 October 1918.

ST. GERMAIN, EDMUND, Private. From St. Norbert. 43rd Btn. Killed 16 August 1918.

APPENDIX B

Indian Reserve Land Acquired For Soldier Settlement Board

Saskatchewan			
Ochapowace	No. 71	18,223.4 acres	$64,160
Piapot	No. 75	16,318.0 acres	$208,640
Mistawasis	No. 103	15,900.0 acres	$198,576
Muskeg Lake	No. 102	8,083.3 acres	$135,000
Poor Man	No. 88	8,075.0 acres	$92,920
Kahkewistahaw	No. 72	1,903.6 acres	$28,652
Big River	No. 118A	980.0 acres	$16,600
Cowessess	No. 73	320.0 acres	$3,200
Total		69,803.3 acres	$831,148
Alberta			
Saddle Lake	No. 125	8,960 acres	$ 89,600
Bobtail	No. 139	6,926.3 acres	$ 79,862
Total		15,886.3 acres	$169,462

Source: Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1985), 135.

APPENDIX C*

Contributions to Canadian Patriotic War Funds

Contributions to Canadian Patriotic Fund

Manitoba

Peguis Band	$650.00
Oak River (Sioux Band)	101.00
Oak River Band	51.00
Rosseau River Band	9.60
Total	$811.60

Saskatchewan

Muscowepetung Band	$1,000.00
White Bear Band	1,000.00
Pasquah Band	1,000.00
File Hills Colony	502.10
Carry The Kettle Band	423.40
Thunderchild's Band	200.00
Stony Band, Red Pheasant Band	156.20
Onion Lake Agency	133.45
James Smith's Band	100.00
Sturgeon Lake Band	100.00
Beardy's Band, Okemasis Band	100.00
Assiniboine Agency	78.25
Island Lake Reserve, Joseph Bighead's Band	58.65
Moosomin Band	35.00
Battleford Agency	20.20
Moochenin's Band	1.50
Total	$4,923.75

Alberta

Blackfoot Agency	$1,500.00
Samson's Band	1,000.00
Blood Agency	458.00
Beaver Lake Band	83.75
Saddle Lake Agency	75.75
Seenum's Band	50.00
Hobbema Agency	41.15
Frog Lake Band	37.25
Whitefish Lake Band	7.50
Total	$3,180.90

Contributions to the Red Cross Fund

Manitoba

Peguis Band	$ 650.00
Norway House Agency	318.00
Pipestone Band	50.00
Oak River Band	11.50
Total	$1,029.50

Saskatchewan

Battleford Agency	$139.20
Thunderchild's Band	100.00
James Smith's Band	30.00
Sioux Indians, Prince Albert	30.00
Meadow Lake Band	20.00
John Smith's Band	7.35
Total	$326.55

Alberta

Blackfoot Agency	$ 134.10
Hobbema Agency	96.00
Total	$ 230.10

Contributions To Other War Funds

Manitoba

The Pas Agency	$ 598.50
Nelson House Band	300.00
Birtle Agency	207.00
Portage La Prairie Agency	73.00
Total	$1,178.50

Saskatchewan

File Hills Agency	$8,059.90
Moose Mountain Agency	1,300.00
Qu'Appelle Agency	1,250.00
Assiniboine Agency	773.35
Touchwood Agency	536.25
Children of Gordon's School	50.85
Total	$11,970.35

Alberta	
Blackfoot Agency	$2,565.90
Blood Agency	1,972.00
Stony Agency	137.75
Alexander's Band	50.00
Paul's Band	50.00
Total	$4,775.65

Total Contributions	
Manitoba	$ 3,019.60
Saskatchewan	$17,257.90
Alberta	$ 8,656.90

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* Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," in *Canada in the Great War: Vol. III — Guarding the Channel Ports* (Toronto: United Publishing of Canada, Ltd., 1919), 320-23.

APPENDIX D

Payments by Indian Soldier Settlers During 1922-1923

Name	Agency	1922	Owe	1923	Balance
Joe Mountain Horse	Blood	24.58	31.03	31.03	
Joe Crow Chief	Blood	20.20	7.87	7.87	
Charlie Provost	Peigan		132.56	85.83	46.73
Nap Provost	Peigan		111.89	100.00	11.89
Patrick Brittain	Duck Lake	12.40	12.40	12.40	
Allan Fiddler	Pelly	45.50	30.62	30.62	
Roy Whitehawk	Pelly	90.00	16.84	16.84	
Albert Brass	Pelly	212.48			
Donald Cote	Pelly	16.29	22.06		22.06
Livingstone Cote	Pelly	28.83	24.37		24.37
Henry Keshane	Pelly		57.77		57.77
Alex Desnomie	File Hills	500.00	69.27	69.27	
Leonard Creeley	File Hills			88.05	
J. Bellegarde	File Hills		89.44	89.44	
David Bird	File Hills		104.10	51.72	52.38
Alex Brass	File Hills		107.42	53.36	54.05
Alex Stonechild	File Hills		184.30		184.30
Henry Stonechild	File Hills		154.32	76.52	77.80
Joe McKay	File Hills		121.20	60.27	60.93
Abel Watetch	Qu'Appelle	116.60	117.38	117.38	
Thomas McNab	Touchwood		112.29	82.67	29.62
Angus Artist	Assiniboine		159.65	81.77	77.88
George Sinclair	Fisher River	100.00	59.73	34.00	25.73

Source: NA, RG10, vol. 7484, file 25,000-101pt 1., letter, D.C. Scott to W.M. Graham, Indian Commissioner, April 25, 1923; ibid., February 5, 1924.

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WARRIORS OF THE KING

PRAIRIE INDIANS IN WORLD WAR I

L. James Dempsey

While the history and culture of western Canadian Indians in the nineteenth century has been well documented, little has been published concerning their experiences in the more recent period. To understand the Indians of today one must know more about their history in the twentieth century. This study of the participation of more than 400 western Canadian Indians in World War I offers a unique opportunity to view their society one generation after the signing of the treaties. They had been confined to reserves for thirty years, living in poverty under an oppressively paternalistic regime, yet they enlisted in numbers comparative to other Canadians, and acquitted themselves with honour. Surviving evidence indicates that the Indians of the prairie provinces enlisted for three principal reasons: the survival of a warrior's philosophy or ethic; the existence of a loyalty to the British Crown; and the opportunity to escape the stagnant life on the reserve.

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